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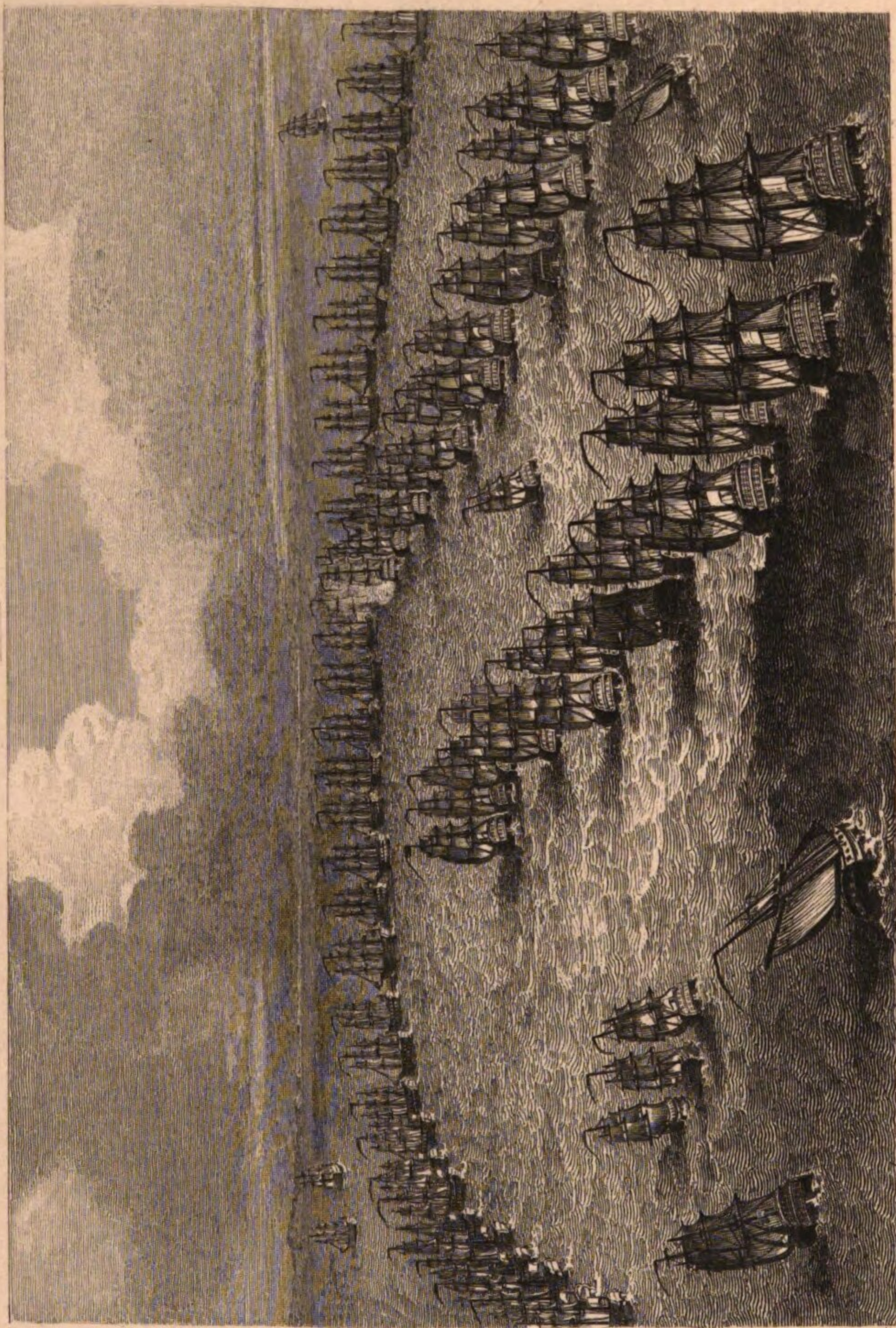
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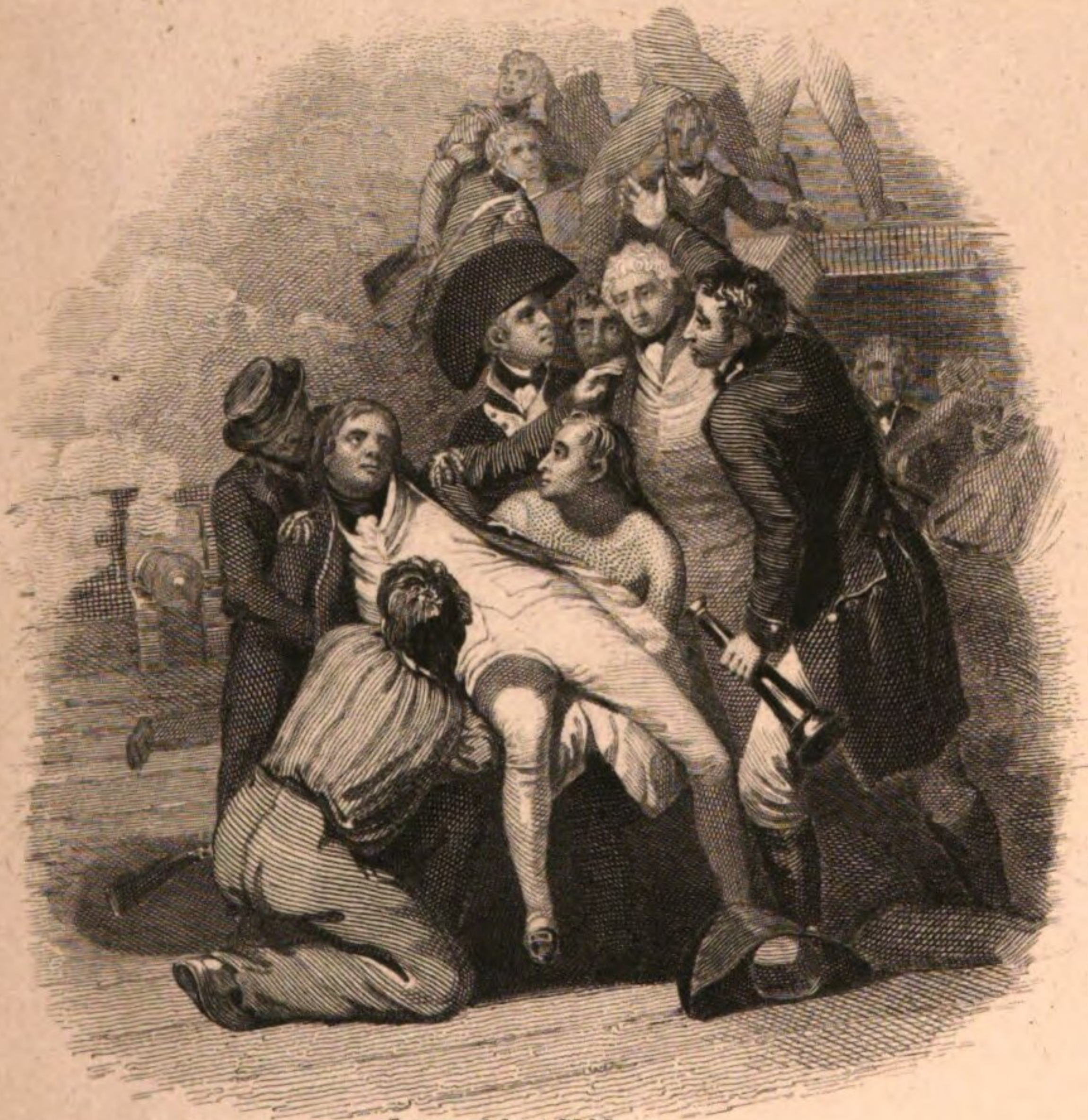
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On the nineteenth of December the new session of parliament was opened by commission; and the speech dwelt on the calamities of war; the progress and power of France; the failure of pacific negotiations for peace, which the enemy had turned to

the purposes of his insatiable ambition ; and the necessity of union, firmness, and courageous endurance in the nation, to meet the peculiar exigences of the crisis. The animosity indeed of the enemy had lately proceeded to the extreme of commercial hostility : by his Berlin decree Napoleon not only excluded neutrals from the ports of France and her allies, if they had recently visited a British port, but directed the confiscation of all commodities and manufactures of Great Britain and her colonies wherever found : the ludicrous import of this ordinance was to institute a total blockade of the Britannic islands. It was answered, for the present, by an order to confiscate all vessels trading between one French or dependent port and another. Mr. Canning rose in the house of commons, not to propose an amendment to the address, but to introduce another, which he contented himself with reading ; and it was afterwards published in the journals of the day. The speech, by which it was prefaced, exhibited in some parts a show of candor, but its general character was that of unrelenting hostility to the present administration ; and the candor itself seemed as if designed only to render the censure more effectual. After strongly condemning the policy of our breaking with Prussia for the sake of Hanover, he thus described the conduct of Great Britain towards that power :—‘ Prussia,’ said he, ‘ unable to resist France, encroached on us : we had however the option to pass over a just cause of complaint, and to leave untouched the only state in Europe which appeared capable of forming the germ of an alliance hostile to the ambitious views of France : but the conduct of ministers was the converse of their policy. By that conduct Prussia had been compelled to act without our advice or assistance ; and to plunge into a war, of which, if our advice could not have prevented it, our assistance might at least have meliorated the termination. Would any man of common reflection say, that for the restoration of Hanover it was worth while to make war on Prussia ? The British government however continued at war with her as long as the resources of Prussia were unimpaired, and her strength unexhausted ; but as soon as there seemed a prospect of war between Prussia and France, an ambassador was despatched to Berlin, with instructions adapted to all possibilities, except that which was most probable, namely, the actual commencement of war : for that no provision had been made : as soon however as lord Morpeth returned, our government began to see their error, and to think that there really was something like war between the two powers, from the trifling circumstance

that the Prussian army was annihilated : they then sent a few military men to their aid ; and when the Prussian monarchy shall be destroyed, they will perhaps send an army.' He next censured the foreign diplomacy of the country ; citing the instance of ' a minister at Paris negociating a peace, and another at Berlin instigating war for the same object : ' adverting also to Mr. Fox's first letter to Talleyrand, he observed, ' that there were fifty other and better ways, in which the intelligence which it contained might have been communicated ; and he condemned most strongly the reception which the answer to that letter experienced. The assertion in it, that the British government were beginning a new course, as illustrated by the transaction alluded to, was false : never had the British government been stimulators of assassination ; and had he held the situation which the late right honorable gentleman occupied, he should have thought it his duty to repel such an accusation with contempt and indignation.' On this occasion, and also on the fifth of January, when the subject of negociation with France was discussed, the character of his honored and lamented friend was powerfully and pathetically vindicated by lord Howick, who went through the whole of the correspondence between Mr. Fox and Talleyrand, to prove that the former was altogether free from any imputation on his integrity or his political wisdom. Toward the conclusion of a long and ingenious speech, his lordship thus expressed his sentiments respecting the contest between Great Britain and France :—' I am far from encouraging very sanguine expectations, after all that has happened on the continent within these few years : the event is in the hands of ' Him who giveth the victory.' But one thing is clear ; that the progress of Buonaparte has never yet been stopped by submission : our only hope therefore is in resistance, as far as we can resist his ambitious projects. We have done what our honor and duty required us to do : when this instrument of vengeance may be deprived of his terrors, I know not ; but we may at least look to the honor and independence of this country, as secure against his attacks ; and while Great Britain exists as an independent and an honorable nation, there will still remain some hopes of restoring that political balance in Europe, which has for the present been overturned.'

Mr. Canning's speech, which followed Mr. Whitbread's in this debate, was an ironical attack on ministers, under the pretence of defending them against that gentleman, who, though not their colleague, had for the most part identified

his politics with theirs. In his concluding observations are the following severe reflections on the conduct of government:—
‘ War is undoubtedly a great calamity, and peace an inestimable blessing; but war may yet be felt preferable to an inglorious and insecure peace: on the other hand, an inglorious and insecure peace is to be deprecated as an evil; yet it is possible that a war may be so conducted as to render even such a peace an object of desire. Ministers have so contrived, as to make this a question of no small doubt and perplexity; they make the choice between peace and war difficult, or perhaps almost indifferent. When I peruse their negotiations, and see to what sort of a peace alone they could have led, with what chance of security, with what hope of permanence; I am inclined to congratulate myself on the escape from such a peace to a continuance of the war: but, on the other hand, when I observe what sort of a war the right honorable gentleman, Mr. Windham, carries on, I can scarcely refrain from casting back a wistful look at the negociation. If the war were conducted with that ability which we had a right to expect from the character which the present administration gave of themselves, or suffered to be given of them by those nearest in their confidence, and from the unsparing censure and contempt which they lavished on the exertions of their predecessors in office; if it were conducted with that vigor, which the country has a right to demand at their hands, trusting them, as it does, with all its means, and seconding them with all its zeal and exertion; if any blow had been struck against the enemy in the course of the year, during which these ministers have wielded the whole strength of the empire; if every effort had been made, or even every disposition manifested, to give heart and hope to the nations of the continent, so that out of such a war might arise the promise of an honorable, a secure, and a permanent peace;—unquestionably, in that situation of things, the rupture of the late negociation would be matter of unqualified joy, and I could not bring myself to concur in lamenting it: but if the war that is to come is to be the counterpart of that which we have hitherto witnessed since the accession of the present administration; if the events and exertions of the last ten months are to be taken as the sample and the measure of our activity and achievements; if, while the enemy insultingly tell us, at every step of the negociation, *beaucoup se prépare*, and telling us so, uniformly keep their word; if, on our part, such opportunities are to be thrown away, as have existed for the last three months, and as exist still, had

we the spirit to take advantage of them; if Buonaparte may traverse the continent of Europe to its farthest extremities, and drain France of her last man, relying as fearlessly and as securely on our supineness, our sloth, and our despondency, as he could have done on our faithful observance of the stipulations of the most advantageous treaty of peace; and, lastly, if that disheartening maxim, to which I have already had occasion to refer with sorrow and shame; that maxim, which was so deeply impressed on the mind of the government, even so long ago as the beginning of the negociation, that it overflowed in confidential communication to France herself, the maxim, that there is nothing so chimerical as any new project of continental confederacy against France; if that, I say, still prevails, and prevails with all the additional weight which it may have acquired from the unfortunate events that have taken place since it was first promulgated;—then, indeed, seeing little to expect from such a war, conducted on such principles, under such auspices, and with no better hopes in the minds of those who have the charge of it; I can, in that sense, join in expressing my regret at the failure of the negociation.’

Parliament, having provided for an augmentation of sea and land forces, now directed its attention to the improvement of the revenue. Lord Henry Petty, having stated the total amount of the supplies for the year 1807 at £40,527,065, and the ways and means at £41,100,000, brought forward a permanent plan of finance, professing for its object to provide means for supporting the honor and independence of the empire during the necessary continuance of the war, without perceptibly increasing the burdens of the country, and with manifest benefit to the public creditor. This plan was adapted to meet a scale of expenditure, nearly equal to that of 1806; and it assumed that, during the war, the annual produce of the permanent and temporary revenue would continue equal to the produce of that year. Keeping these premises in view, he proposed that the war-loans for the years 1807, 1808, and 1809 should be £12,000,000 annually; for 1810, £14,000,000; and for each of the ten following years, £16,000,000: those several loans were to be made a charge on the war-taxes, estimated to produce £21,000,000 annually: this charge to be at the rate of ten per cent on each loan; five per cent for interest, and the remainder as a sinking fund, which, at compound interest, would redeem any sum of capital debt in fourteen years. The portions of war-taxes, thus successively liberated, might, if the war should still be prolonged, become applicable in a

revolving series, and be again pledged for new loans: it was however material that the property-tax should in any case cease on the sixth of April next after the ratification of a peace: on the result therefore of the whole measure, there would not be imposed any new taxes for the first three years from this time: new taxes of less than £300,000, on an average of seven years, from 1810 to 1816, both inclusive, were all that would be necessary, in order to procure for the country the full benefit of the plan here described, which would continue for twenty years, during the last ten of which again no new taxes would be required. After repeated discussions, this plan was agreed to, and the funds rose considerably; which gave the minister an opportunity of negotiating a loan on terms advantageous to the public, yet not unproductive to the contractors.

On the second of January, 1807, lord Grenville introduced a bill for the total abolition of the slave-trade, which was read a first time, and printed: on the fourth of February, counsel were heard against it at the bar of the house; and next day his lordship concluded an elaborate speech, by moving its second reading; when he was opposed chiefly by the duke of Clarence, earls Westmorland and St. Vincent, lords Sidmouth, Eldon, and Hawkesbury; but, on a division, at four in the morning, the motion was carried by 100 against 36: on the tenth, the bill was read a third time, and ordered to be sent to the commons for their concurrence: on the twenty-third, lord Howick moved that it should be committed; when, so great had been the progress of philanthropic sentiments among British legislators, that only sixteen voices were found bold enough to oppose the 283 raised in favor of this righteous cause. The military inquiry, which had, in the mean time, been going forward, discovered many scandalous abuses in the expenditure of public money; but the sum recovered was scarcely sufficient to defray the expenses of its recovery, nor could either amendment or redress in peculations of this kind be expected under the old system of parliamentary corruption. Mr. Whitbread brought in a bill to alter the poor laws; since it appeared that about one-seventh of the whole population of England and Wales received intire support or partial relief from the six other parts; human misery being much increased by this encouragement of indolence, dissipation, and vice, as well as by the promotion of early and improvident marriages among the poor: the nation however was not yet sufficiently alive to the mischiefs result-

ing from the old system ; and, as the ministry did not enter with zeal into his views, the project was, for the present, abandoned.

On the sixteenth of March, the slave-trade abolition bill was read a third time, on the motion of lord Henry Petty, and passed without a division : it enacted, that no vessel should clear out for slaves from any port within the British dominions after the first of May, 1807 ; and that no slave should be landed in the colonies after the first of March, 1808 : on the eighteenth, it was carried up to the lords, for their concurrence in some amendments ; when lord Grenville instantly moved that it should be printed, and taken into consideration on the twenty-third ; at which time the alterations were agreed to : the reason of this haste was soon discovered. With the leaders of the present administration the catholic question was not a subject of secondary policy, but of paramount and indispensable importance ; and considering, as they did, the removal of certain disabilities from the papists to be essential to the security of the empire, it can excite no surprise that they made it a matter of discussion in the cabinet : and although, in consequence of lord Sidmouth's aversion to entertain it, and of some interviews on the subject held by lords Grenville and Howick with his majesty, it was for a time abandoned ; yet it was at length partially revived by a bill for allowing promotion in the army and navy to Roman catholics, as well as to other dissenters from the protestant establishment. It was well known that the king had accepted his present ministers, not by choice, but from necessity ; and there was a party arrayed behind the throne, which regarded their present proceedings with extreme satisfaction : the bill, lately introduced into parliament, had indeed been submitted to the sovereign ; and, receiving his reluctant acquiescence, had been read for the first time on the fifth of March : lord Howick however postponed its second reading from the day originally ordered ; for the king's sentiments, in the mean time, had undergone a material change : he now pleaded the intervention of his coronation oath ; and ministers, bending to his conscientious scruples, consented to withdraw the bill. By one party it was said, this alteration was produced by secret advisers, anxious for power and place, who encouraged his majesty's scruples, and suggested to his royal mind the idea of exacting a written pledge from ministers, not only to abandon this measure, but never to resume it : by the other it was alleged, that an attempt had been made to impose on the sovereign by

some alterations made in the bill, after it had been submitted to his approbation: that, although these changes did not affect the principle of the measure, yet it naturally gave to it a different aspect; and the same deference or fidelity, which had induced ministers to apply for his majesty's assent to the original bill, should have led them to communicate orally to him the proposed alterations, instead of merely detailing them in a despatch, which, among the various and voluminous documents daily submitted to his majesty's inspection, might easily have escaped his notice: be this as it may, the king now decidedly objected to any extension of the act of 1793; and ministers, having led the people of Ireland to entertain great hopes, and having fully developed their plans to the house, thought it preferable to abandon the measure altogether than revert to its original terms.

It is impossible not to suppose, that some degree of irritation now operated on both parties, from the disappointment which each had received; and such a state is always more easily aggravated than healed. Ministers, in withdrawing the measure, required that a minute of council should be entered, recording their opinions on the subject, and reserving to themselves the power of suggesting any measure they might deem expedient; the declaration being accompanied with a profession of their sincere wish to consult the personal ease and comfort of his majesty: whether this requisition preceded or followed the demand made by his majesty, of a written pledge never to resume the abandoned measure, it is difficult to determine; but it is certain that the demand was resisted as unconstitutional, and incompatible with ministerial responsibility. The breach had extended too far to admit of reparation: confidence between the parties never had existed; but sensibility was now incurably wounded, and the necessary consequence was a dissolution of the cabinet: its members however determined not to resign office, while they considered themselves merely pursuing the line of duty; but to wait for their dismissal.

Accordingly, on the twenty-fourth of March, lord Grenville received a letter from his majesty, stating that he would be ready to receive him and his colleagues on the following day, at half-past eleven, to deliver up their seals of office: they accordingly attended for this purpose at the queen's palace; and it then appeared that a commission had been obtained, for the royal assent to the bill for abolishing the slave-trade: it was instantly opened by lord chancellor Erskine; the bill passed

into a law; and Great Britain set an example to the world, worthy of her exalted rank, but which as yet has found few imitators among christian nations.

After the dismissal of his cabinet, his majesty held a private levee, when the new ministers kissed hands on their appointment. Lord Grenville's office was conferred on the duke of Portland, as nominal head of the new administration; under whom, Mr. Perceval, a barrister of eminence, ready in debate, and well acquainted with parliamentary tactics, was commissioned to act: to allure this gentleman from the profession of the law to the field of politics, he was offered the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster for life: on which occasion it was properly observed, that if aspiring adventurers were not satisfied with the fair emoluments of office, but expected an immediate equivalent for professional profit, they ought not to accept any public employment; and an address was voted, requesting that his majesty would not grant for life an office which had usually been held during his pleasure. The three new secretaries of state were lord Castlereagh, lord Hawkesbury, and Mr. Canning: lord Mulgrave was placed at the head of the admiralty; the great seal was transferred to lord Eldon; and earl Camden was destined to resume the viceregal office in Ireland.

It cannot be denied that the conduct of his majesty was approved by the majority of his subjects: the cry of 'No popery' had been raised, and re-echoed from one end of the realm to the other; and the lampoons of Canning on the fallen ministry, whom poor Sheridan ruefully accused 'of raising up a wall, against which they might strike their own heads,' were received with that applause which ever accompanies a congeniality of sentiment. The corporation of the city of London led the public voice on this occasion by an address, to which his majesty responded in the following terms:—

'I receive with the greatest satisfaction the assurances you give me of your concurrence in those principles, which have governed my conduct on the late important occasion. It has ever been my object to secure to all descriptions of my subjects the benefits of religious toleration; and it affords me particular gratification to reflect, that during my reign these advantages have been more generally and extensively enjoyed than at any former period; but at the same time I never can forget what is due to the security of the ecclesiastical establishment of my dominions, connected as it is with our civil constitution, and with all those blessings, which, by the favor of Providence, have

hitherto so eminently distinguished us among the nations of the world.'

With all the influence of a parliament lately collected under whig auspices, the original leaders of which were formidably arrayed in opposition, Mr. Perceval and his colleagues had now to contend. The indignation of the dismissed ministers was inextinguishable: they beheld themselves superseded by men, who, without interest or power in the country, were suddenly summoned to be its rulers; and who, by a tacit compact at least, if not by a direct pledge, had surrendered to the personal feelings of the monarch, their right of recommending, or even discussing, a question vitally important to the state: these too were individuals, whom they had been accustomed to consider merely as the satellites of Pitt, and as entertaining views very different from those they now acknowledged: in Mr. Perceval they recognised only a practised lawyer, who could never soar from the contracting atmosphere of the bar to the elevation of a statesman: lord Castlereagh they despised, as a traitor to the interests of his own country: to Canning, while they gave him no credit for integrity or political principle, they accorded a full measure of hatred for the bitterness of that satire, of which they had so often felt the lash: and in lord chancellor Eldon they saw the principle of stationary policy *personified*: with him no institution was to be tolerated unless impressed with the seal of antiquity; no innovation to be admitted, *ne quid detrimenti caperet respublica*.

The first meeting of parliament, after the appointment of the new cabinet, was of course a trial of strength: the debate was acrimonious, and the subject of it calculated to excite feelings of a stronger nature than those of mere political hostility; for the motion made by Mr. Brand imputed a violation of duty to every minister who should restrain or circumscribe his own freedom of advice by any pledge, expressed or implied: this motion was strongly supported by Mr. Fawkes; while Sir Samuel Romilly observed, 'that such a practice, by destroying all ministerial responsibility, would render his majesty accountable to the people, as acting solely by his own authority; and annihilate the maxim, which declares 'that the king can do no wrong;' a predicament, in which his best friends would not wish to involve him.' Of both parties Mr. Ord spoke in very strong language:—'He approved,' he said, 'of the measures of the late ministers, and sincerely regretted their dismissal from office: that regret would have perhaps been lighter, had they been succeeded by men of talent or abilities: but

were not their successors the dregs of a disgraced administration? were they not the persons who had once held the seals of office for a few hours in their possession, and carried them back in acknowledgement of their own incapacity?"

Mr. Canning rose in reply to lord Howick; and the conclusion of his speech, which was commenced at a late hour, was received with loud and reiterated cheers on all sides. After expressing his horror at the audacity of those members who wished to bring their sovereign to the bar of the house; and having entered into a vindication of lord Eldon's visits to Windsor; he justified the mandate of dismissal, as a necessary consequence of the absurd and arrogant conduct of the late ministry; and he ended with the following declaration:—"Whatever may be the issue of the division this night, or of the series of divisions, with which, if successful, it is to be followed; his majesty's ministers are determined to stand by their sovereign, even though circumstances should occur, in which they may find it their duty to appeal to the country." Dr. Duigenan and Mr. Perceval poured forth, on this occasion, a torrent of zeal in favor of the protestant establishment; laboring to show that its destruction was certain, if intolerance were abated, and a dominant party deprived of its monopoly of civil privileges. On a division, the opposers of the court found themselves in a minority; reckoning only 226 votes against 258. When the marquis of Stafford submitted a similar motion to the peers, it was warmly and ably supported; but the new ministry defeated it by a majority of eighty-one votes: and when Mr. Lyttleton urged the commons to express their disapprobation of the late change, and to intimate the necessity of a firm and efficient administration, the motion was rejected by a majority of forty-six.

As ministers however were not much elated by the strength which they possessed in the lower house, Mr. Canning's threat was soon put into execution: in the speech which announced the prorogation of the two houses, his majesty referred to the indulgences which his Roman catholic subjects had received during his reign, as proofs of his attachment to the principles of a just and enlightened toleration; a hope being expressed, that the divisions, excited by unnecessary agitation of a question of religious policy, would quickly pass away: he was so fully convinced of the rectitude of his motives, that he had no doubt of his people's readiness to support him in such exercise of his prerogative, as agreed with the sacred obligations under which he held his crown: thus influenced, he ordered,

on the twenty-ninth of April, a dissolution of the parliament; when both the pulpit and the press were enlisted in the cause of administration; and so successfully was the cry of 'the church in danger!' excited, that of all the members of the late cabinet, Mr. Thomas Grenville only resumed his seat in the house of commons for the place which he had before represented.

The new parliament was opened on the twenty-second of June, and the king's speech delivered by commission on the twenty-sixth; when the result of the elections, on occasion of the address, was looked to with intense anxiety. The opposition had mustered, on the twenty-fourth, at Willis's rooms, to the number of 180, peers and commoners; and the unusual attendance of 505 members of the lower house, to hear the speech, and vote on the amendment, seemed as if both sides felt a presentiment, that the question was not merely possession of power by the present ministers, but hereditary accession to it by the dynasty of a party. The late dissolution was the agitated question, on which Mr. Windham spoke with peculiar energy. After arguing the question generally, and maintaining, that to dissolve parliament during a session, was always unconstitutional, and often impolitic; he asked, 'What was the expediency of the measure in the present instance; when it gave rise to the inconveniences of a general election, with all the injury to private property, and all the detriment to public morals, which such an event was calculated to produce? For all these inconveniences there should be a good justification. If the protestant religion was in danger, that would be a justification of the *measure*; if ministers thought it was in danger, that would be a justification of *them*: as to this cry of 'the church in danger!' he would put it to the right honorable gentleman himself, and ask him, if he believed it? The belief that every concession would be made to the catholics, was the sole ground on which he voted for the union with Ireland: that measure had infused genius and wisdom into the parliament of Great Britain; but these might well have flourished in their own sphere, and added to the patriotism and pride of their native land: in his opinion, nothing could have justified the union, but a belief that every privilege could be more securely granted to the catholics by the united parliament, than by that of Ireland: this was the opinion of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Fox, the most distinguished politicians that had adorned any country: and he would ask the noble secretary, who had been a party to all the plans of Mr. Pitt on this very subject,

how could he join in any cry, that the church was in danger, from measures which fell far short of those which Mr. Pitt had in contemplation? As to the defence, which a right honorable gentleman had given for his silence in 1801, when the same, and, indeed, more extensive measures were proposed; it was the mere plea of a pleader, and could hardly be listened to with patience, even in those courts to which he had been accustomed: he was then in parliament, the friend of Mr. Pitt; and though the late measure did not go one twentieth part so far as that which Mr. Pitt proposed; instead of regarding him as the betrayer of the protestant faith, he held him up as the only fit man in the country to consolidate and direct its resources. The right honorable gentleman however considered this appeal to the people as having confirmed the truth of his opinions; an appeal indeed to their dormant prejudices, an advantage taken of the cry of 'No popery!' raised through the realm. What must one think of men who could resort to such means in support of their influence? means, which had procured for them the contempt of all sober and thinking men! For two successive parliaments they had abdicated their claims, and in fact declared their incapacity for conducting the affairs of government; yet now they stole into power under the despicable cry of 'No popery!'

Mr. Canning replied to the principal arguments which had been urged by the opposition: he alluded to the different accounts which had been given of the late change of administration: at one time honorable gentlemen stated, that they had voluntarily retired from office; and at another, that they had waited till they were forced to abandon their places: they might choose which of these cases they liked best, but he could not let them take to themselves both the grace of resignation and the grievance of dismissal: the latter however was the event: they had stuck with great obstinacy to their situations; and a main objection to his friends seemed to be, that they wanted that first quality of a great statesman, tenacity of place. The amendments were negatived both in the upper and lower house, by majorities of 160 to 67, and 350 to 155, respectively; and this advantage over their opponents the new ministry kept during the session.

A new military plan was introduced by lord Castlereagh, for increasing the regular army from the militia, and supplying the deficiencies so occasioned by a supplementary militia. A bill was introduced by Sir Arthur Wellesley for suppressing insurrection in Ireland, and preventing the disturbance of the

peace in that country: another also was passed to prevent improper persons from keeping arms. An address was carried in the commons, on the motion of Mr. Bankes, praying his majesty not to make any grant of an office in reversion till six weeks after the commencement of the ensuing session. The subject of the finance committee, more than any other, brought the leaders of each party into collision; and Mr. Canning's speech, on this occasion, was a bitter and galling attack on the late administration. In speaking of the affairs of Buenos Ayres, he remarked on the great change which appeared in their sentiments regarding that colony:—'When its conquest first took place, they did not think it worthy of being mentioned in the king's speech; afterwards it acquired a vast importance in their eyes; and why? not from its utility to the commerce, navigation, or general resources of the country; but because it afforded scope for the appointment of collectors, comptrollers, searchers, and tide-waiters: this was a complete key to their policy; a happy illustration of their large and enlightened views. If it had been a government that had projected and accomplished extensive plans of conquest, we should have had collectors and comptrollers of the Bosphorus; with searchers and waiters of Rosetta. In answer to what a noble lord had said about newspapers, he would ask, was there no instance of a newspaper, (The Morning Chronicle) conspicuous for its attachment to the constitution, and the fairness of its details in all transactions in which its party's interests had a place; whose proprietor was appointed secretary to the barrack-board, where the office of secretary was a new and a sinecure institution? how then could they tax the present ministers with partiality to newspapers? There was another act, which he regarded as a flagrant breach of the constitution; the grant of a pension of £400 a year during pleasure to a Scotch judge. [Lord Henry Petty said, across the table, he knew nothing about this matter.] The honorable gentlemen, when in power, were so united, that no difference of opinion prevailed among them: when out, and charged with a job, they fled in all directions, and left it to light on what head it would.'

A speech, breathing such a spirit of scorn and defiance, naturally provoked retaliation. Mr. Curwen took up the taunt of the right honorable secretary, that 'there was no independent man in the house:' he could assert of himself, that he was so far independent, that he never had accepted a favor from any minister, and never would: could the right honorable

secretary say as much? could he say that he did not at this time enjoy a pension? Mr. Canning, in reply, denied having asserted that there were no independent men in the house; he had merely declared that party attachments were prevalent. As to the question addressed to him, his answer was, that on retiring from the office of under-secretary for foreign affairs, Mr. Pitt and lord Grenville proposed to make a provision for him, which he had accepted; and they settled, by his desire, one half on himself, and the other half on two near and dear relations, dependent on his labors for their subsistence. This open and manly avowal, instead of conciliating enmity, became a byword of reproach; the expression, 'near and dear relations,' giving point to many sarcasms directed against sinecurists and pensioners: no man however had less right to complain of a want of delicacy in the manner or subject of an attack, than the right honorable secretary. Nothing of peculiar importance characterised the remainder of the session, which terminated on the fourteenth of August.

The late ministers had left the Prussian monarch to the chance of war: he seemed to be ruined, but his spirit was not subdued, when Buonaparte advanced, before the close of winter, in the hope of crushing him: the king was then at Memel; and his Russian allies, posting themselves at Prussian-Eyleau, calmly awaited the attack of a superior force, after having sustained a severe reverse at Pultusk, which they had the effrontery to call a victory. The French in that action were commanded by Lannes; but on the eighth of February, at Eyleau, Napoleon with the main body of his army was present: both armies were drawn out by daybreak in battle array, and many were the vicissitudes of fortune in this sanguinary contest: the slaughter, which was immense on both sides, became still more frightful by the snow which covered the ground; and which, continuing to fall on the wounded, dyed itself with their blood. The Russians had not yielded ground on the day of battle; but they had been dreadfully cut up, and had no succor at hand; while Bernadotte's fresh division was behind the main army of Napoleon: Beningsen therefore retreated next day; and the French emperor, having remained one week at Eyleau, retired to occupy the line of the river Passarge; his head-quarters being at Osterode: hence he despatched offers of peace to the king of Prussia; while, on the other hand, he took measures for recruiting his army, and reducing Dantzic; which important city surrendered in May to general Léfêbvre, and added its name to his ducal title.

Reinforcements in the mean time had reached both armies ; and, after various skirmishes, they met at Friedland, on the fourteenth of June, which Napoleon recollected to be the anniversary of Marengo : he welcomed the sound of the first cannon as the presage of victory ; and the omen was fulfilled. Having formed his columns in the passes of the woods, he allowed general Beningsen to cross the bridge of Friedland with the greater part of his army : the Russian did not suspect this manœuvre ; but the French columns, issuing from the forest, and placing their cannon in position, soon convinced him that he must fight at a disadvantage, without the possibility of a retreat : he instantly drew out his line, resting his left on the bridge ; to which point Napoleon of course directed his principal attack to cut off the army : Ney led it ; but his column was routed : Dupont supported him, and rallied his troops ; but Napoleon thought fit to achieve the victory with his artillery, which was brought to bear from many points on the enemy, concentrated as they were and formed in squares : heavy charges of cavalry filled up the pauses that occurred in the roaring of the cannon ; and at length, towards evening, after the Russians had suffered greatly, and many of their squares were broken, the French infantry advanced to the charge, and completed their defeat. As the artillery raked the bridge, no retreat lay that way : the Russians therefore plunged into the river ; and thousands, encumbered with their accoutrements, perished in addition to those who lay on the field of battle. Such was the decisive victory gained by the genius of Napoleon ; and Friedland, like Marengo, enabled him to dictate humiliating terms of peace to a mighty empire.

Königsburg now surrendered : Beningsen had retreated beyond the Niemen ; but the French soon reached its banks in pursuit : the Russians demanded an armistice, which was conceded ; and preparations were made for an interview between the emperors, on a raft moored in the midst of the stream : there they met, embraced, and conversed for a considerable time in sight of their armies on the opposite banks. Alexander, having expressed resentment against the British ministry, who had departed from the Pitt system of subsidies, the sentiment was so agreeable to Buonaparte, that he replied ;—‘ In that case the conditions of their treaty would be easily settled.’ On the following day, Alexander crossed the river to Tilsit ; and the two emperors were soon on terms of equality and friendship : not so the unfortunate monarch of Prussia, who arrived as a suppliant, and was treated by his conqueror with

extreme harshness and disrespect: even the czar, won by the talents and ascendancy of Napoleon, felt a diminution of sympathy for his late ally; the presence of whose lovely queen could not counteract these new predilections of the one, or soften the premeditated rigor of the other.

On the seventh of July, peace was concluded between France and Russia on the following conditions: the provinces to be returned to Prussia were fixed: Russia recognised the duchy of Warsaw, consisting of South Prussia as before, and a part of West Prussia, under the king of Saxony: Dantzic was declared a free city: a part of New East Prussia was ceded to Russia, which recognised Joseph Buonaparte as king of Naples, Louis king of Holland, and Jerome also as monarch of the newly-erected kingdom of Westphalia. Russia consented to acknowledge the confederation of the Rhine, even in its future enlargements, on notice being given; she also concluded an armistice with the Porte, consenting to receive the mediation of France: Napoleon accepted in return the mediation of Russia with England, if that country should desire it within a month after the ratification of the present treaty. In a secret article,¹ Russia entered into an agreement to make common cause with France, in case England should reject the peace, and refuse to acknowledge the freedom of the sea; to require the courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Lisbon to do the same; and finally to declare war against Great Britain.

The peace with Prussia, concluded two days afterwards, by which about half the monarchy was returned as a gift of charity, reduced this nation to a state of the second rank: the contemptuous treatment, in addition to this oppression, which its monarch had to bear, seemed to justify a suspicion, that the conqueror's wish was to drive him into the resistance of despair, and then treat him as he had treated the Neapolitan monarch, by declaring that 'the house of Brandenburg had ceased to reign.'

The conditions of peace were as follow: Prussia received back the territories which she was not required to resign. She ceded, and left to the disposition of the French emperor, —first, all her possessions between the Elbe and the Rhine; secondly, the circle of Cotbuss annexed to Saxony; thirdly, all her Polish provinces acquired since 1773, of which the duchy of Warsaw was formed, also consigned to Saxony; fourthly,

¹ See Moniteur, July 8, 1812.

the city and territory of Dantzic. Prussia recognised the three brothers of Napoleon as kings; also the formation of the kingdom of Westphalia from the ceded Prussian and other countries: all Prussian harbors and countries were to remain closed, till the future peace, against British trade and navigation; and the Prussian fortresses were not to be evacuated before payment of a contribution of 112,000,000 of francs: this was afterwards arbitrarily augmented to 140,000,000; and Dantzic, though a free city, was made to receive a French garrison. The peace of Tilsit restored quiet, together with the lost province of Moldavia, to the Porte; though a future scheme for dismembering this empire, and distributing its spoils to Russia, France, and Austria, was agreed on, but postponed. The only crowned head of continental Europe which did not bow down to Napoleon, was that of Gustavus IV., king of Sweden: he was in consequence soon dispossessed of Stralsund and Swedish Pomerania. Sweden, perhaps, deserved the enmity of Buonaparte; but to plot against Spain, which had sacrificed its whole navy in his cause, and whose army was at this time engaged for him in the north, was atrocious in the extreme; but it met with its deserved punishment.

The stipulations of Tilsit, avowed or secret, were nothing less than a league to enchain the world: annihilating Prussia, menacing Spain and Sweden with a similar fate, and tending prospectively to the ruin of Turkey and Austria, they still ultimately aimed at the subjugation of that power, which was destined to be the avenger of humiliated thrones.

In the mean time, the naval force of England was supreme: Napoleon was unable to oppose this on its own element; but he imagined that he could wield against it, indirectly, his supremacy by land: his grand plan was to exclude British ships and commerce from all European ports. Immediately after the battle of Jena came forth the first act of proscription: the Russian and Prussian monarchs now lent their implicit aid to this scheme, discontinuing, by public manifestos, all communication with Great Britain; and great was the mixture of surprise and disgust felt by the British senate and nation, when 'the magnanimous Alexander' thus became the humble slave of Napoleon. His manifesto was answered in a state paper, drawn up by Mr. Canning, which is considered as a model in that species of composition. The Berlin decree had been met, on the seventh of January, by the late ministers, with a retaliatory order of council, which was complained of by the envoy of the court of Denmark: to this

lord Howick replied, and asserted the principle in dispute with great clearness, firmness, and moderation. 'His majesty,' he said, 'would, unquestionably, have been justified in resorting to the fullest measures of retaliation, in consequence of this unparalleled aggression; and other powers would have had no right to complain, if the king had immediately proceeded to declare all the countries occupied by the enemy in a state of blockade, and to prohibit all trade in their produce: for, as the French decree itself expresses it, the law of nature justifies us in employing against an enemy the same arms of which he makes use: if third parties suffer from those measures, their demand of reparation must be made to that country which first violated the established usages of war, and the rights of neutral states.' The present ministry followed up the system of protection and retaliation; and first signalised their administration by that equivocal measure, the bombardment of Copenhagen, and seizure of the Danish fleet. Engaged in a deadly struggle with a power that recognised no obligation or restraint, the British government was soon obliged in some degree to unfetter itself, and commit acts which nothing but the imperious necessity of national defence could excuse; for it is a melancholy consideration, that in human affairs the energy requisite to ensure success must sometimes trespass on the strict limits of justice. The unscrupulous policy of Napoleon, and the schemes which transpired at Tilsit, left no doubt, that he would, whenever it suited his purposes, occupy Denmark; which country, like Holland, was unable to resist or withhold its resources from France: it was determined therefore to anticipate him; and the British cabinet despatched to the Baltic an armament of 20,000 troops, under lord Cathcart, accompanied by a powerful fleet under the command of admiral Gambier. When intelligence of this expedition arrived at Copenhagen, it was generally supposed in that city that the armament was intended to co-operate with the Swedes in Pomerania: the illusion however was soon dispelled by the arrival of a British envoy early in August, who was instructed to require that the Danish fleet should be delivered into the possession of the British admiral, under a solemn agreement for its restoration, whenever peace should be concluded between England and France: in case of refusal, the prince royal was to be informed that the British commanders would immediately proceed to hostilities. An independent sovereign could not listen to such conditions: a dignified, but determined answer therefore was given to the proposals, and Mr. Jackson quitted the capital.

The English army landed without opposition the sixteenth of August; and, after some ineffectual attempts to impede its progress, Copenhagen was closely invested on the land side; the fleet forming an impenetrable blockade by sea: a proclamation was at the same time issued by lord Cathcart, notifying to the inhabitants of Zealand the motives of the expedition, and the conduct that would be observed towards them; with an assurance, that whenever the demands of his Britannic majesty should be complied with, hostilities would cease. On the twenty-sixth, Sir Arthur Wellesley was despatched with a force to disperse the Danish troops that were rapidly assembling under general Cartenchild; which service he effectually performed. On the evening of the second of September, the land batteries and bomb vessels opened a tremendous fire on the town; and, in a very short time, a general conflagration appeared to have taken place. No proposals for capitulation being sent on the two ensuing days, the firing, which had considerably slackened, was vigorously renewed on the evening of the fourth; and next morning the commandant of the garrison sent out a flag of truce. A capitulation having been settled on the eighth, the British army took possession of the citadel, dockyards, and batteries, under an engagement of restoring them, and of evacuating the island of Zealand, at the expiration of six weeks, or sooner if possible: no requisitions were made; no military excesses were committed; and the police of the city was regulated by the Danish magistrates. The British admiral immediately began to rig and fit out the ships laid up in ordinary; of which sixteen were of the line, fifteen frigates, six brigs, and twenty-five gun-boats: at the expiration of the term limited in the capitulation, they were all, together with the stores, timber, and other articles of naval equipment found in the arsenal, conveyed to England, with the exception of one line-of-battle ship, which grounded on the isle of Huen, and was destroyed.

As soon as the English fleet quitted Copenhagen, a number of armed vessels commenced depredations on our traders in the Baltic with considerable success: British property was confiscated throughout the Danish dominions; correspondence with England was strictly prohibited, and war declared. As all Europe exclaimed loudly against the apparent outrage that had been committed, his Britannic majesty ordered a declaration to be published in justification of the motives which dictated the expedition: in this it was stated, that 'his majesty had received the most positive information of the de-

termination made by the ruler of France to occupy, with a military force, the territory of Holstein, for the purpose of excluding Great Britain from her accustomed channels of communication with the continent; of inducing or compelling the court of Denmark to close the passage of the Sound against British navigation; and availing himself of the aid of the Danish marine for the invasion of Great Britain and Ireland; farther, that, Holstein once occupied, Zealand would be at the mercy of France, and the navy of Denmark at her disposal.' The expedition therefore was considered justifiable as an act of self preservation.

This however did not prevent the emperor of Russia from hastening to fulfil the conditions of his peace with Napoleon: the attack on Copenhagen was a pretext for intire separation; while some injuries sustained by his vessels induced him to issue a declaration on the thirty-first of October, in which he not only upbraided Great Britain for deserting her continental allies, and sending her forces on interested expeditions to other parts of the globe, instead of making a diversion in favor of those that were shedding their blood in the common cause of Europe; but accused her of breaking faith and the precise terms of treaties, by troubling at sea the commerce of his subjects. He then proclaimed afresh the armed neutrality of Catharine; demanded satisfaction for his own subjects; and declared that he would not resume terms of amity with this country until full reparation was made to Denmark.

We must now advert briefly to those expeditions which excited the indignation of our late ally. Toward the close of 1806, England, desirous of compelling the Porte to accommodate her dispute with Russia, and at the same time irritated by that influence which the French minister had acquired with the sultan, despatched a fleet to the Levant, under the command of Sir John Duckworth, with orders to force the passage of the Dardanelles, anchor before Constantinople, and bombard the city, unless certain conditions were complied with: accordingly, the British admiral appeared off the entrance of the strait, and was of course opposed: a passage however was attempted, and the fleet sailed through, in spite of the fire from the forts of Sestos and Abydos. At the same time, Sir Sidney Smith directed his efforts against a squadron, that was unable to withstand the superiority of British skill and valor: a battery, which, if completed, might have defended the Turkish vessels, was stormed by a party of marines; and a ship of the line being driven toward the shore, was set on fire:

four frigates also and three corvettes were burned. Passing in apparent triumph through the sea of Marmora into the Bosphorus, Sir John Duckworth sent a letter to the Reis-Effendi, demanding a declaration of the sultan's views; whether he was determined to espouse the cause of France, or renew his ancient terms of amity with Great Britain, and second her efforts in opposing the tyranny of Napoleon; requiring, in the former case, an immediate surrender of the Turkish navy. Had Selim been left to the counsels only of his own divan, when a British fleet was in sight of his seraglio, there can be little doubt what answer would have been returned; but the French minister, Sebastiani, was a gallant soldier, and a man of talent: he therefore inspired the sultan with confidence, and persuaded him to enter into a negociation: in the mean time, he directed the efforts of the population in fortifying all the approaches to Constantinople; and when the arbitrary proposals were rejected, the wind and current, as he had foreseen, prevented the hostile fleet from attaining such a position as would enable it effectually to bombard the city: Sir John Duckworth therefore was obliged to hasten his departure, while it was still practicable: nor did he repass the Dardanelles, without sustaining considerable loss from the fire of the castles. Thus far however Russia had no great cause to complain of the zeal of Great Britain; though the latter power, instead of producing an accommodation between the courts of St. Petersburg and Constantinople, contrived to add a new enemy to her own list: indeed, her agents and settlers in Turkey were now exposed to considerable annoyance: a sequestration of British property to a large extent in various quarters was promptly executed; and Sebastiani's influence became paramount in the divan.

To obtain some compensation, if our projects should be defeated before Constantinople, it was determined by lord Grenville's cabinet to send an expedition to subdue Egypt, and thus oppose one barrier at least to the designs which Napoleon meditated against our oriental possessions; but as the British fleet set sail before the result of our negociations with the Porte was known, this circumstance gave the enemy an opportunity of charging us with contemplating an iniquitous aggression: on the sixth of March, a force of 5000 men, under the command of major-general Mackenzie Fraser, departed from Messina, and effected a landing on the coast of Alexandria. A detachment, sent to seize and occupy the fort of Aboukir, succeeded in that attempt; and a manifesto,

introduced by a friendly Arab among the Alexandrians, who were not disposed to defend the city, induced them to insist on a capitulation by the garrison; and Alexandria surrendered to the British arms. The facility with which this conquest was effected induced general Fraser to attempt the reduction of Rosetta, for the purpose of securing a regular supply of provisions for his troops: but the inhabitants of that town, not entertaining the same views as the citizens of Alexandria, made an obstinate and effectual resistance; every house being used as a fortress, from which a constant fire was directed against the assailants, who were obliged to retire with great loss. About half the army was afterwards employed in the same service, and succeeded in driving their adversaries from the surrounding sand-hills into the town; but all attempts to produce a surrender or an accommodation were fruitless; a retreat became necessary; and the troops were obliged to fight their way back, under great disadvantages, to head-quarters; where they remained till September. The retention however of Alexandria, menaced as it was with a siege by numerous forces collected from Cairo and other towns, soon became impracticable; and general Fraser, having obtained the release of all the British prisoners, consented to evacuate Egypt, without having acquired any glory or advantage from the expedition.

Some hopes were entertained that these reverses in the Mediterranean might be compensated by successes in the South Atlantic ocean. In October 1806, a reinforcement had been sent to the Rio de la Plata under Sir Samuel Achmuty; who, on arriving at Maldonado, determined to attack the strong post of Monte Video, the key to the navigation of that immense river: on the fourteenth of January, 4000 troops were landed, who repulsed a superior force of the enemy: a battery was then thrown up, by which a practicable breach was effected on the second of February; and the assault was ordered for the next morning, an hour before daybreak: the enemy, in the mean time, had so completely barricaded the breach with hides, that the assailing forces could not in the darkness distinguish it from the wall; and they were obliged to remain for a quarter of an hour under a galling fire, until it was discovered by captain Renny, who fell gloriously as he mounted it with his men: the survivors however rushed into the town with an impetuosity that triumphed over every obstacle; the cannon at the head of the principal avenues were overturned; the streets were cleared by the British bayonets; and before noon, both the town and castle remained

in our possession: fifty-seven vessels, of war and trade, were captured; and a sloop, laden with treasure, was blown up during the assault.

The hopes of success, however, excited by this acquisition, were blighted by subsequent rashness and misconduct. On the fourteenth of June, general Crauford, arriving at Monte Video with a force of 4200 men, which had been turned from its original destination against Chili, found lieutenant-general Whitelocke, who had brought 1600 troops from England, with orders to assume the chief command of an expedition to recover Buenos Ayres: the appointment of this officer, who was equally disqualified for military command and judicious negotiation, reflected little credit on ministerial judgment. When the Spanish governor intimated a desire of accommodation, the British general arrogantly demanded that all the civil officers should be deemed prisoners of war; and thus destroyed every hope of a successful treaty. In surveying Monte Video, after his disembarkation, he had remarked the flat roofs and parapets by which each house could be turned into a kind of fortress; yet, when he arrived before Buenos Ayres, he rushed blindly into danger from a want of profiting by his own observation. Having nearly surrounded the city, he ordered that a general attack should be made on the fifth of July, and that the different divisions should march through the streets to certain points with unloaded muskets: no mode of attack could have been so ill adapted to the nature of a town composed of houses like those already described, with regular streets intersecting each other at right angles: volleys of grape-shot were poured on our advancing columns in front and flank; while they were destroyed by hand-grenades, and every other species of missiles from the housetops. The service, under these terrible disadvantages, was executed with uncommon intrepidity, but with a loss of 2500 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners; and Sir Samuel Achmuty succeeded in gaining possession of the Plaza de Toros, in which he captured eighty-two pieces of cannon, and immense stores: the commander-in-chief however neither properly superintended the process of attack, nor supported the battalions that required his assistance: general Crauford, therefore, with his brigade, was cut off from all communication with the other columns, and obliged to surrender; as also was a detachment under lieutenant-colonel Duff. Surrounded with foes, general Whitelocke now consented to treat with the Spanish commandant; and not only agreed to evacuate the town on the condition of recovering his

own prisoners, and those taken from general Beresford ; but to give up Monte Video, and every other place on the Rio de la Plata, held by the British troops, within the space of two months. Such a result as this of course brought the general to a court-martial, by which he was sentenced to be cashiered ; not for prohibiting his troops to fire, but for a deficiency of zeal, judgment, and personal exertion. Such were the unfortunate expeditions, which gave to our late imperial ally a pretext for accusing this country in his manifesto, as ‘coolly contemplating a bloody war which had been kindled at her will, while she sent troops to attack Buenos Ayres ; and as despatching from Sicily another army, which appeared destined to make a diversion in Italy, to the African coast, for the purpose of seizing and appropriating Egypt to herself.’ His declaration however was answered on the eighteenth of December, by a spirited justification of themselves on the part of the British government ; and an order of council was issued, granting letters of marque and reprisal against Russian vessels. Against the bad success of our expeditions, the solitary acquisition of the Dutch colony of Curacao is to be recorded ; which surrendered on the first of January to a squadron of four frigates under commodore Brisbane.

At this time Great Britain appeared to be at the lowest ebb of fortune, while her mighty antagonist had reached the zenith of his glory : such had been the end of all our expeditions and coalitions, that against these solitary islands the whole civilised world stood indignant in arms : every port and river in Europe was closed against our ships, except the Tagus ; and, in order to stop this last source of British commerce, Buonaparte in October despatched Junot to seize the dominions of our oldest ally. Yet, victorious as he now appeared, England still wore an undaunted aspect ; and the policy adopted by her government, notwithstanding blunders, losses, and disappointments, ensured her final success. The army of 30,000 men sent by Napoleon against Portugal must necessarily pass through Spain : that country was now ruled by a minion of the queen, Emanuel Godoy, surnamed ‘the prince of the Peace ;’ who, from a soldier in the body-guard, had been raised to the distinguished station of prime minister : even this man could feel for that degradation to which his country had been long subjected by the cruel exactions of the French emperor ; and in a fit of patriotism, had published a warlike proclamation to the Spaniards, which he thought proper to withdraw as soon as the result of the battle of Jena was made public : he now

felt anxious to ingratiate himself with Buonaparte, to whom he appeared a proper instrument to forward his designs: accordingly a treaty was negotiated between them at Fontainebleau, by which Portugal was to be subdued; its northern provinces given to the king of Etruria, who had lately been expelled from his own states by France; and its southern bestowed in sovereignty on Godoy; the central portion, including Lisbon, being left nominally to the house of Braganza, but occupied by French troops for the purpose of excluding British commerce: yet even this did not constitute all Napoleon's scheme, which comprehended the whole of the Peninsula; and in order to accomplish it, he formed a second army at Bayonne, under the pretence of sending reinforcements to Junot. In the mean time, that commander entered Portugal; and on the twenty-sixth of November, advanced to Abrantes, within three days' march of Lisbon: the *Moniteur* had already announced 'that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign;' and as if to fulfil this imperial edict, the royal family embarked on board a British fleet, and set sail for the Brazils on the thirtieth; Junot's advanced guard arriving in time to fire a few cannon shots at the retiring vessels. Thus, while the continental system was raised for the exclusion of British commerce from Europe, a direct intercourse was established between England and Brazil, forming a new epoch in our commercial prosperity.

The British order in council of the seventh of January, prohibiting neutrals from trading to any port in the possession, or under the control of the enemy, not having answered the desired purpose, additional orders were issued on the eleventh of November, declaring every port from which England was excluded, to be in a state of blockade; all trade in its produce illegal; and all vessels engaged in such trade liable to capture: and though the Americans might still trade with the enemy's colonies for articles of their own consumption, the double restriction was imposed on their intercourse between France and her colonies, of calling at a British port, and paying a British duty. To avoid the losses and hostilities apprehended from the measures of the two great belligerent powers, congress, on the twenty-second of December, laid a strict embargo on all American vessels, by which they were prohibited from leaving their ports; while the ships of all other nations were ordered to quit the harbors of the United States, with or without cargoes, as soon as they received notification of the act. This intelligence greatly

alarmed commercial men; and the merchants of Liverpool, thinking that the act of congress proceeded from our orders of council, petitioned for their abrogation; but in vain. Buonaparte, firm in his purpose to harass the commerce of this country, determined to persevere in a system, which eventually hurled him from his throne; and, on the twenty-third of November, issued his celebrated Milan decree, enacting 'that all vessels entering a port of France, after having touched at England, shall be seized and confiscated with their cargoes, without exception or distinction.' This interdict was succeeded, on the nineteenth of December, by a rejoinder to our late orders of council; declaring, 'that every neutral, which submitted to be searched by an English ship, or which paid any duty to the British government, should, in consequence, become liable to seizure, as a lawful prize, by French ships of war.' Neutral powers were thus placed between two fires: if they entered a French port, without first paying a duty on their cargoes in England, they were subjected to capture by British cruisers; and if they touched at England for that purpose, they became subject to confiscation in the ports of France. The case was one of extreme hardship, occasioning severe scrutiny, and animated discussions, among British as well as foreign politicians.

But, in addition to the irritation proceeding from our orders in council, another unfortunate subject of dispute arose between this country and the United States. On the twenty-third of June, the Leopard man-of-war, captain Humphries, acting under the orders of admiral Berkley, fell in with the Chesapeake American frigate, off Virginia, and demanded some British deserters known to be on board: on her captain's refusal to admit a search, the Leopard fired a broadside, killing and wounding several men; after which the American struck his colors. In consequence of this transaction, the American president issued a proclamation, ordering all British ships of war to quit the harbors of the United States; and, in a message to congress, on the twenty-seventh of October, he stated that satisfaction for the outrage had been demanded of Great Britain: in the mean time, an investigation of the transaction took place at Halifax; when one of the deserters taken from the Chesapeake was condemned by a court-martial, and executed. The British ministry did not hesitate to declare in parliament their readiness to make reparation for whatever might appear an unauthorised act of aggression; and, in a proclamation, to recal British seamen, it was stated that force might, if necessary,

be exerted for recovering deserters on board the merchant vessels of neutrals; but that with respect to ships of war, a requisition only should be adopted: thus the conduct of the admiral was tacitly disavowed; and a special envoy was despatched to America with overtures of conciliation; which however proved abortive.

In August, this year, died the last descendant of the unfortunate family of Stuart, cardinal York, who styled himself Henry IX., king of England: but he was never forward in urging his pretensions to the British throne; his character being that of a quiet, inoffensive person. Having been reduced to great distress by the French usurpations, he had of late years received an annual pension of £4000 from the bounty of George III.

On the second of November, Louis XVIII., king of France, landed at Yarmouth, under the title of count de Lille, accompanied by their royal highnesses the ducs de Berri and Angoulême, with several emigrant noblemen. M. le comte de Lille received his majesty's invitation to take up his residence in any part of Great Britain, during his stay in this country.

The Danish West-Indian islands of St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix surrendered in December, without resistance, to a British squadron under Sir Alexander Cochrane.

CHAP. XLIX.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1808.

Affairs of Spain—Napoleon's designs on the crown of that country—How accomplished—Resistance of the Spanish people—Joseph Buonaparte made king of Spain—His retreat from Madrid, in consequence of the surrender of Dupont's army—Spanish deputies arrive in England—The cause of Spain taken up by the British government—Different views taken of it—Meeting of the British parliament—Debates on the expedition to Copenhagen—Censures provoked by Mr. Canning—Peter Plymley's letters—Roman catholic petition—Motion respecting the droits of admiralty—Mutiny bill, and local militia—Finances, &c.—Mode to reduce the national debt—Bill against the grant of offices in reversion—Alterations in the criminal law—Also in the Scotch courts of justice—Act to prevent distillation from grain—Discussion of Spanish affairs—Prorogation of parliament—Contest between Russia and Sweden—Changes effected by Napoleon in the state of continental affairs, and of France—Operations of the British fleet in the Mediterranean—Conduct of lord Collingwood—Statistical summary of British affairs since the peace of Amiens—Affairs of Portugal, to the convention of Cintra—Articles of that treaty—Court of inquiry, &c.—State of Spain—Plans of Napoleon—Meeting of sovereigns at Erfurth, &c.—Buonaparte's advance into Spain—Sir John Moore's campaign—Battle of Corunna, &c.

ABOUT the time that Junot occupied Portugal, Napoleon sent a second army across the Pyrenees, under Dupont, which established itself on the Douro: a third followed it on the first of January this year, and all the disposable forces of the French empire seemed ready to inundate the Peninsula. It must be confessed, that the state of mental imbecility and moral degradation into which the reigning family of Spain had fallen, was a strong temptation to dispossess them of a throne which they had rendered so contemptible; but a more imprudent

step was never taken by a statesman, than that which led Napoleon to the violent usurpation of an allied kingdom, the whole resources of which were already at his disposal : such an outrageous attack on public faith and personal honor disclosed to every European state his ultimate designs, alienating friends, inspiring foes with confidence, and rousing the spirit of human nature itself to re-assert its rights : this unwise policy was clearly perceived by Talleyrand, but that sagacious minister was at this time out of favor ; the evil star of Napoleon was rising ; and the baleful meteor, which had so long affrighted the nations, was to be extinguished, though in blood.

The object of Buonaparte's invasion of Spain was long considered a political enigma ; but the true solution is given in the pages of Bourrienne. Without doubt, he was anxious to place this ancient crown on the head of a member of his own family : but why ? because he depended on such an instrument to pursue rigorously and implicitly the continental system, which was intended to overthrow the power that stopped him in the course of his ambition. The following observation, which Napoleon made to Duroc, the truth of which there is not the slightest reason to question, discloses the whole of his design :—‘ I am no longer anxious that Joseph should be king of Spain ; and he himself is indifferent about it. I would give the crown to the first comer who would shut his ports against the English.’

From the contemplation of this profligate and impolitic measure, we must now turn to the means adopted for its execution.

Long before the French invasion of Spain, the imbecile family on its throne had been distracted by domestic quarrels ; under cover of which, artful and designing persons pursued their own plans, while they pretended an interest for the parties whose cause they espoused. The country, as before has been observed, was governed, under the name of Charles IV., by Don Manuel Godoy, who had been raised to his high station solely by the queen's favor : nor was the influence which this person possessed with the king much less than that exercised by him over her majesty ; which circumstances will account for the hatred with which he was regarded by Ferdinand, prince of the Asturias, and heir-apparent to the throne ; in whose sentiments the Spanish nobility and people, already disgusted by Godoy's subserviency to Napoleon, largely participated. In order to counteract the support which the favorite received from the court of France, Ferdinand was

persuaded, in October 1807, to address a letter to the French emperor, lamenting the influence which bad men had acquired over his father; soliciting the interference of 'that hero whom Providence had raised up for the safety of Europe, and the support of thrones;' and requesting the honor of an alliance with his family by marriage: finally, he desired that this communication might be kept secret, lest his parents should consider it a proof of disrespect. Though the prince received no answer to his letter, it seems to have got wind; for at the end of the month he was arrested on the charge of designing to dethrone his father and assassinate his mother: as a traitor of this stamp, he was denounced by the Spanish monarch himself to Napoleon, who rejoiced in such a pretext for decisive interference in the domestic policy of the nation.

We have already noticed the convention made with the Spanish court and Godoy regarding Portugal, which enabled Napoleon to mask his ulterior intentions against Spain, and to introduce large bodies of troops into that country without exciting strong suspicions. The prince of Asturias, after some judicial proceedings, was liberated from confinement; and being absolved of his imputed crimes, wrote a submissive letter to his father, acknowledging his faults, but accusing certain persons in his confidence, of instigating him to deeds which his own soul abhorred: the king however had spoken openly to the French ambassador about revoking the law of succession; and Napoleon's armies of reserve, amounting to more than 50,000 men, under general Dupont and marshal Moncey, had already advanced into Spain, and were encamped about Vittoria, Miranda, Valladolid, and Salamanca; apparently following in the track of Junot's march; but in reality cutting off the capital from all communication with the northern provinces, and securing the direct road from Bayonne to Madrid: small divisions, under various pretexts, were constantly reinforcing these armies; and 12,000 men under general Duhesme penetrated into Catalonia, and established themselves in Barcelona.

In the mean time, the quarrel between the monarch and his son, or rather between Godoy and the advisers of Ferdinand, was brought to a crisis in March, by insurrections at Aranjuez and Madrid. There were occasional reports, that the obnoxious favorite had persuaded the old king and queen to transfer the seat of government to Mexico; and at last preparations were made for their embarkation at Seville: during the com-

motion caused by this discovery, the palaces of the prince of the peace were sacked by the populace, and he himself with difficulty escaped their fury: on the eighteenth, Charles IV., terrified by the violent proceedings of his subjects, abdicated his throne; when Ferdinand was proclaimed king, amid the acclamations of the people: during these transactions, however, Murat, grand duke of Berg, who now commanded all the French forces in Spain, pushed forward marshal Moncey's corps, with a large body of cavalry, and took possession of Madrid; while Dupont, deviating from his route to Portugal, occupied Segovia, the Escorial, and Aranjuez. Ferdinand, when he arrived in the capital, on the twenty-fourth of March, was not recognised in his royal character by Murat, to whom Charles IV. declared, that his abdication had been forced on him: he also wrote in the same strain to the emperor. This state of affairs being unexpected by Napoleon, whose plans had been disarranged by the vehemence of the Spanish populace and the precipitate movement of Murat, he committed the management of them to Savary, duke of Rovigo, by whom Ferdinand was induced to undertake a journey, for the purpose of obtaining an interview with the emperor at Bayonne. Having appointed a supreme junta at Madrid, of which Murat was named a member, Ferdinand set out, regardless of the entreaties, and even the opposition of his subjects; and arrived at Bayonne on the eighteenth of April: thither also Charles IV. who had been reinstated on his throne by the assistance of Murat, proceeded with his queen and Godoy, in order to place himself, his cause, and his kingdom, in the hands of Buonaparte: in the mean time, French troops had scattered themselves throughout the realm, and had been admitted without hesitation into the fortresses of St. Sebastian, Pampeluna, Figueras, and Monjuik, as well as the citadel of Barcelona; and thus a proud, bigoted, and irritable nation, was, in a moment of unsuspecting confidence, laid prostrate before an enemy who came under the guise of friendship. 'Fortunately,' says the able author of the Peninsular War, 'it is easier to oppress the people of all countries, than to destroy their generous feelings: when all patriotism is lost in the upper classes, it may still be found among the lower: in the Peninsula it was not found, but it started into life with a fervor and energy that ennobled even the wild and savage form in which it appeared: nor was it less admirable, though it burst forth attended by many evils: the good policy displayed was the

people's own ; their cruelty, folly, and perverseness were the effects of a long course of misgovernment.'²

Napoleon's great error in this aggression was that of making the people his enemies. 'Had he,' as the author above quoted justly observes, 'before he openly meddled in their affairs, brought the people into hostile contact with their government ; (and how many points would not such a government have offered !) instead of appearing as the treacherous arbitrator in a domestic quarrel, he would have been hailed as the deliverer of a great nation.'

The transactions which had already taken place regarding the royal family, and the movements of the French troops that were now advancing on Madrid, soon roused the indignation of the Spaniards into active violence. On the second of May, a carriage having been prepared, as the people supposed, for removing to France Don Antonio, uncle of Ferdinand, and head of the supreme junta ; a crowd collected together, the traces were cut, and loud imprecations uttered against the invaders of Spain. This commotion soon spread over the whole city ; and the French soldiers, expecting no violence, were slaughtered on all sides : above 700 fell ; and even the hospital was attacked : but the attendants and sick men defended themselves against their assailants, until they were relieved by a body of cavalry and a corps of 3000 infantry under general Lanfranc, who dispersed the crowds, and captured several hundreds. In the first moment of irritation, Murat ordered these prisoners to be tried by a military commission, which condemned them to death ; but at the intercession of the municipality of Madrid, he forbade any executions on the sentence : it is said, however, that general Grouchy, in whose immediate custody the prisoners remained, in order that the blood of French soldiers might not be shed with impunity, proceeded to shoot about forty in the Prado, before Murat could enforce his orders ; and that about the same number were put to death by a colonel of the imperial guard, enraged at the loss of many choice troops in that superb corps, against which the fury of the Spaniards had been principally directed.³ This affair was intirely acci-

² Colonel Napier's History of the Peninsular War, vol. i. p. 22.

³ Colonel Napier clearly proves that this was not a wanton massacre, or even a barbarous stroke of policy, on the part of the French ; but that it was commenced by the Spaniards, whose fiery tempers, and irritation from passing events, rendered an explosion inevitable. There is also some doubt respecting this act of the colonel of the guard.

dental; yet policy induced both sides, not only to exaggerate the slaughter, but to attribute secret motives to their opponents: the French, knowing that the odious impression made by the transaction on the minds of the people could not be effaced, endeavored to convey by it a terrible idea of their own power and severity; while the Spaniards used it as a means of exciting their countrymen throughout the provinces to rise in arms against their atrocious invaders. Intelligence of this commotion soon reached Bayonne, and had the effect of exasperating the emperor against Ferdinand; while its easy suppression seemed to argue, that Spain would be forced to submit to his will with as little difficulty as Naples. Charles IV., having reclaimed his crown in the presence of Napoleon, was, through the influence of Godoy, induced to resign it in favor of the emperor: Ferdinand was more stubborn; but his sire, and especially the queen, inveterate against a son whom she detested, aided Buonaparte's views with a blind rage that shocked even his mind: she accused Ferdinand of premeditating the assassination of his parents, and threatened to declare him illegitimate unless he yielded to the emperor's wishes: it was also hinted that he might meet the fate of d'Enghien: and on the sixth of May the prince gave in his resignation; when, having played the part which the usurper required, he was sent, as well as the old king and queen, into the interior of France, to be kept in safe custody. In consequence of the cession made to him by Charles IV., Napoleon assumed the right of nomination to the vacant throne of Spain, and required that a king should be chosen out of his own family. According to directions issued, the council of Castile, together with the municipality and governing junta of Madrid, declared their choice to have fallen on Joseph Buonaparte, who arrived in June at Bayonne, where a number of Spanish nobles, denominated the assembly of notables, appeared, and accepted him as their sovereign; after which they proceeded to discuss the new constitution⁴ presented to them, and swore to maintain it. Murat was immediately sent to Naples, where he acted as a royal puppet in the place of Joseph.

The perils of this enterprise undertaken against his ally were not unforeseen by Napoleon: he was aware that a general insurrection might prove, in his own words, 'a cancer that

⁴ This was very similar to that of France, with an exception in favor of the dominant religion; no toleration of dissent from popery being allowed.

would eat into the very heart of his empire ;' but he hoped that the people would not rise. The Bourbon dynasty was neither ancient nor glorious ; and the Spanish attachment to Ferdinand was intirely the effect of chance : he had expressed the national wish in hating Godoy, and accordingly became identified with it: the insurrection completed his popularity ; so that in overthrowing him, Napoleon insulted the nation, and provoked a contest which ended in his own destruction. On the twentieth of July king Joseph made his entry into Madrid, and was proclaimed on the twenty-fourth : but his regal authority was confined to a small circle round the capital ; and his only hope of success rested on his brother's arms : for what could the consent of an imbecile monarch and a few pusillanimous nobles avail against a nation arming its millions to oppose him ? In Catalonia, in Valencia, in Andalusia, Estremadura, Gallicia, and the Asturias, the people were now gathering, and fiercely proclaiming resistance to French intrusion ; while all the cities, towns, and villages of the realm began to present spectacles of mingled patriotism and atrocity that were at once inspiring and appalling. Horrible barbarities were committed on those French soldiers, whom sickness or the fortune of war exposed to popular vengeance : nor were native Spaniards treated with less mercy, however high their rank or authority, who hesitated to embark in the horrors of what then appeared a hopeless contest, or who interfered to prevent the sacrifices which their infuriated countrymen demanded. By a precaution which showed long premeditation in the mind of Napoleon, the flower of the Spanish forces had been marched to the north of Europe, and placed under the command of Bernadotte : but the void thus left was expeditiously filled ; and insurgent armies started up in all parts of the peninsula. In its northern provinces indeed, where the French were strongest, these patriotic efforts met with a signal defeat ; for in July, Bessières overthrew the Spanish troops under Blake and Cuesta, at Rio Seco, with such slaughter, that Napoleon declared the victor had placed the crown on Joseph's head. The battle of Jena was scarcely more fatal to the Prussians : but in Prussia Buonaparte attacked only an army : here he was opposed by a nation ; that hydra, whose powers of resistance increase in proportion to defeat. Thus Lefèvre, though victorious in the field, was repulsed from Saragossa ; while in the south, Dupont, having vainly endeavored to reach Cadiz, as vainly sought to retreat across the Sierra Morena. He was surrounded by the Andalusian forces,

and obliged to surrender an army of 18,000 men to Castaños, on condition of being sent by sea, as prisoners of war, to France: king Joseph, dispirited and alarmed, immediately abandoned Madrid, and retired with the French troops behind the Ebro. The council of Castile resumed the government, and a military junta of five generals was formed; but the administration of affairs chiefly rested with the junta of Seville, in which the patriots placed the greatest confidence. Dupont's army was the first large body of French troops that had laid down their arms since the revolution: a national enthusiasm, founded, whether right or wrong, on a sense of the justice of their cause, had hitherto pervaded the French soldiery: but this had now almost evaporated; they began to feel that it was not in the cause of France, but of its ambitious ruler, that they fought: they fell accordingly toward the level of mercenary troops; and the first symptoms of the change appeared in the surrender of Dupont at Baylen; a position, out of which a revolutionary army would have fought its way, reckless of loss. The capitulation was shamefully violated by the Spaniards; for the French soldiers, instead of being sent to France, were maltreated, and numbers of them murdered in cold blood: eighty of their officers were massacred in the most cowardly manner at Lebrixa, being fired on by the inhabitants from the surrounding houses, while they endeavored with their swords to defend themselves against their assassins.⁵ Horrible as were the excesses committed by the French in Spain, it must be confessed that they were but retaliators.

Meantime the flame of insurrection had spread to Portugal: the inhabitants rose against Junot, and united with the Spaniards in asserting their independence. Early in the summer, some Spanish gentlemen from the Asturias arrived in London, followed by a succession of deputies or envoys from other parts of the kingdom, to solicit aid from the British government; and on the twenty-second of June, his majesty, through Mr. Canning, issued a declaration, promising both naval and military succors, not only to the province of Asturias, but to every other part of the Spanish monarchy, where the people should appear animated by a proper spirit. Several thou-

⁵ See colonel Napier's *Peninsular War*, vol. i. p. 122. From the same authority we learn, that colonel René, who was returning to Dupont's army from a mission to Portugal, when discovered to be a Frenchman, was seized by these barbarians; and after undergoing a horrible mutilation, was placed between two planks, and sawed asunder while alive!

sands of the Spanish prisoners in England were set at liberty, clothed, and sent home to join their countrymen: the British arsenals and treasury were thrown open; all that one party could require, or the other supply, was, without hesitation, liberally accorded; and the first remittance of £300,000 in dollars, sent a few days after the arrival of the deputies, was accompanied by 5000 muskets, 30,000 pikes, and an immense quantity of powder and balls. From this time the whole resources of Great Britain were freely drawn forth, not, it must be confessed, in the genuine cause of freedom, though in opposition to an unprincipled usurper: in fact, we were now leaguings with monks and Spanish inquisitors, to restore Ferdinand VII., one of the most bigoted and contemptible monarchs that ever disgraced a throne: hence, although national enthusiasm was very generally excited, many enlightened persons desponded, when they saw the nation pledged to a people that fought for the causes of their own debasement: to such philanthropists success itself appeared scarcely desirable for Spain; since the result would only be a continuance of ignorance, superstition, and slavery: ministers however wisely regarded the Spanish territory as an arena, on which British armies might be advantageously trained, so as to contend with success against the legions of Buonaparte. The views of each party corresponded with events: for while the gates of victory were thrown open, in those Pyrenean passes, through which the stream of war burst in on the French soil; many a Spanish patriot has had cause to regret the loss of that constitution which Napoleon drew up for the people, whose political regeneration he had in view.

When the British parliament met on the thirty-first of January, the principal subject that engaged its attention was the expedition to Copenhagen; which, though very glorious to the gallant troops and seamen who had achieved its object, was by a large party, both in parliament and the kingdom at large, considered disgraceful to the administration by which it was planned. The reason for undertaking this enterprise was said to be a secret article in the treaty of Tilsit respecting Ireland; which country was represented by the opposition as an object of dread rather than of confidence; while ministers, instead of conciliating her discontented population, preferred an act of unparalleled aggression against a neutral state, which might possibly be compelled to assist the enemy's machinations against this injured and disaffected portion of our empire. The act however was openly defended on the plea of necessity, arising from the powerful combination of

European states formed against us after the treaty of Tilsit. 'Perhaps,' said viscount Hamilton, the eloquent mover of the address, 'among the various causes which have laid the continental states at the feet of France, none have contributed more largely to produce that disastrous effect, than the facility with which those states admitted every violation of the law of nations, of which the enemy wished to avail himself. We alone have avoided becoming the victims of the credulity, irresolution, and delay, that have overwhelmed all other countries. He trusted, that at such a crisis, encompassed as we were by external perils, we should never be cursed with the greatest of all evils, a timid and feeble government. High as the spirit, and extensive as the resources of the country were, its danger would indeed be imminent, were the administration of its affairs placed in the hands of men, who, with eyes open to the enemy's designs, would be content to reply to his acts by arguments, or hesitate to act themselves from the apprehension of responsibility.' Though the address was carried triumphantly, Mr. Ponsonby soon afterwards brought forward a motion for the production of papers, previous to ulterior proceedings of an accusatorial nature: so at least the motion was regarded by ministers, who, at this stage of the business, put forth all their powers of defence; in which their great champion, Mr. Canning, bore away the palm from every competitor. Beginning an eloquent and argumentative harangue by observing, 'that ministers were called on, not to account for disaster and disgrace, but to explain the elements, and justify the motives, of an eminent service successfully performed;' he felt sure that no charge of party feelings could rest on those gentlemen by whom this motion was brought forward; as had sometimes happened, when the successors of an administration had been left in possession of a glory which they dilapidated: no envious feelings of comparison could have instigated it; for when nothing had been done by one set of men, it was impossible to compare their actions with what had been done by another. The right honorable gentleman then went into a detail of the conduct of Denmark; showing that it testified neither good intentions toward this country, nor means of resisting the influence of a superior power: in the course of his observations, he adverted to the ready acquiescence of the Danish government, when the French shut up the Elbe and the Weser, while a strong remonstrance was issued against our blockade of those rivers; though this was withdrawn, as soon as it was found that to press objections against the measure would be injurious to their own

commerce. Mr. Canning then declared, that even the noble lord who preceded him in administration had notified to the Danish government, that his majesty could never, in the event of that power submitting to the control of France, suffer either the whole or a part of its navy to be placed at the disposal of Buonaparte; and that if the Danes should permit the French to occupy Holstein, he could not abstain from taking measures to maintain the honor of his crown, and assert the rights of his subjects. He presumed, from the acclamations elicited by this declaration, that the gentlemen opposite inferred, that these measures should not have been resorted to until the Danish navy had been actually taken by France, or an agreement entered into for its surrender; or at least a communication of such agreement, made by a government, which had entered into a convention with this country in August, and violated that convention in the December following. Mr. Canning then contrasted the measure under discussion with that taken by the preceding administration, in endeavoring to seize on the Turkish fleet, for which no extenuation could be offered; after which, he entered at large on a review of Buonaparte's acts and bulletins, and their bearings on the question; concluding with an exposition of his views in destroying the trade, and together with it the maritime power of this kingdom, which was the only remaining impediment to his universal aggrandisement: 'but,' said the right honorable gentleman, 'though he should direct the whole accumulated force of his vast territories to this purpose, he will find all his projects frustrated, until he can make all nations independent of commerce, in consequence of their own productions; until *omnis feret omnia tellus*.'

The eloquence of Mr. Canning contributed to give a decided majority to ministers; but having inserted in his speech many garbled extracts from the papers of his predecessors found in the foreign office, he subjected himself to severe censure by Lord Howick's friends, especially Mr. Whitbread, for this unfair method of pressing the argument against his opponents: his political delinquencies however, especially that of defending what was called Mr. Perceval's intolerance and lord Castlereagh's injustice, regarding the affairs of Ireland, turned against him the severest shafts of malicious satire that a minister was ever assailed with; and as the principal arguments for catholic emancipation and the amelioration of Ireland are contained in the pages of Peter Plymley, it may serve to relieve the dryness of historical detail, if we introduce them under the humorous effusions of that sarcastic writer. After con-

fessing that the foreign secretary is both a respectable and highly agreeable man in private life, he says,—‘ You may as well feed me with decayed potatoes, as console me for the miseries of Ireland by the resources of his sense and his discretion. It is only the public situation of this gentleman, that intitles me, or induces me, to say so much about him : he is a fly in amber : nobody cares about the fly ; the only question is, how did it get there ? Nor do I attack him from the love of glory, but from the love of utility ; as a burgomaster hunts a rat in a Dutch dike for fear it should flood a province. You tell me I am a party-man : I hope I shall always be so, when I see my country in the hands of a second-rate lawyer and a pert London joker ; a political Killegrew, who, just before the breaking up of the last administration, was in actual treaty with them for a place ; and if they had survived twenty-four hours longer, would have been now declaiming against the cry of ‘ No popery ! ’ instead of inflaming it.’ With respect to the injustice of the yoke imposed on Ireland he thus proceeds :—

‘ Depend on it, whole nations have always some reason for their hatred. Before you refer the turbulence of the Irish to incurable defects in their character, tell me if you have treated them as friends and equals ? Have you protected their commerce ? have you respected their religion ? have you been as anxious for their freedom as your own ? nothing of all this. What then ? why you have confiscated the territorial surface of the country twice over : you have massacred and exported her inhabitants : you have deprived four-fifths of them of all civil privileges : you have, at every period, made her commerce and manufactures slavishly subordinate to your own : and yet the hatred which the Irish bear to you is the result of an original turbulence of character, and of a primitive, obdurate wildness, utterly incapable of civilisation ! The embroidered inanities, and the sixth-form effusions of Mr. Canning, are really not powerful enough to make me believe this : nor is there any authority on earth (always excepting the dean of Christ-church) which could make it credible to me. I am sick of Mr. Canning : there is not a hap’orth of bread to all his sugar and sack : I love not the cretaceous and incredible countenance of his colleague : the only opinion, on which I agree with these two gentlemen, is that which they entertain of each other. I am sure, that the insolence of Pitt, and the unbalanced accounts of Melville, were far better than the perils of this new ignorance :

Nonne fuit satius tristes Amaryllidis iras

Atque superba pati fastidia? nonne Menalcan?
Quamvis ille *niger*.

In the midst of the most profound peace, the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit, in which the destruction of Ireland is resolved on, induce you to rob the Danes of their fleet: after the expedition had sailed, out comes the treaty of Tilsit, containing no article, public or private, alluding to Ireland. The state of the world, you tell me, justified us in doing this: just God! do we think only of the state of the world, when there is an opportunity for robbery, for murder, and for plunder; and do we forget the state of the world, when we are called on to be wise, and good, and just? Does the state of the world never remind us that we have four millions of subjects, whose injuries we ought to atone for, and whose affections we ought to conciliate? Does the state of the world never warn us to lay aside infernal bigotry, and to arm every man who acknowledges a God, and can grasp his sword? Did it never occur to this administration, that they might virtuously get hold of a force ten times greater than the force of the Danish fleet? was there no other way of protecting Ireland, but by bringing eternal shame on Great Britain, and by making the earth a den of robbers? See what the men whom you have supplanted would have done: they would have rendered the invasion of Ireland impossible, by restoring to the catholics their long-lost rights; they would have acted in such a manner, that the French would neither have wished for invasion, nor dared to attempt it; they would have increased the permanent strength of the country, while they preserved its reputation unsullied: nothing of this kind your friends have done, because they are solemnly pledged to do nothing of this kind; because to tolerate all religions, and to equalise civil rights to all sects, is to oppose some of the worst passions of our nature; to plunder and to oppress, is to gratify them all: they wanted the huzzas of mobs, and they have for ever blasted the fame of England to obtain them. Were the fleets of Holland, France, and Spain destroyed by larceny? you resisted the power of 150 sail of the line by sheer courage, but violated every principle of morals from the dread of fifteen hulks; while the expedition itself cost you three times more than the value of the larcenous matter brought away. The French trample on the laws of God and man, not for old cordage, but for kingdoms; and they always take care to be well paid for their crimes: we contrive, under the present administration, to unite moral with intellectual deficiency; to grow weaker and worse by the same

action. If they had any evidence of the intended hostility of the Danes, why was it not produced? Why have the nations of Europe been allowed to feel an indignation against this country beyond the reach of all subsequent information? Are these times, do you imagine, when we can trifle with a year of universal hatred, dally with the curses of Europe, and then regain a lost character at pleasure, by the parliamentary perspirations of the foreign secretary, or the solemn asseverations of the pecuniary Rose? Believe me, it is not under such ministers as these, that the dexterity of honest Englishmen will ever equal that of French knaves: it is not in their presence that the serpent of Moses will ever swallow up the serpents of the magicians.

‘ Lord Hawkesbury says that nothing is to be granted to the catholics from fear. What! not even justice? why not? There are 4,000,000 of disaffected people within twenty miles of our own coast. I fairly confess, that the dread which I have of their physical power is with me a very strong motive for listening to their claims: to talk of not acting from fear is mere parliamentary cant: from what motive but fear, I should be glad to know, have all the improvements in our constitution proceeded? I question if any justice has ever been done to large masses of mankind from any other motive. By what other motives can the plunderers of the Baltic suppose nations to be governed in their intercourse with each other? If I say, give this people what they ask because it is just, do you think I should get ten people to listen to me? Would not the lesser of the two Jenkinsons be the first to treat me with contempt? The only true way to make the mass of mankind see the beauty of justice, is by showing to them plainly the consequences of injustice. If a body of French troops land in Ireland, the whole population of that country will rise against you to a man, and you cannot possibly survive such an event three years: such, from the bottom of my soul, do I believe to be the present state of that country; and so far does it appear to me from being impolitic and unstatesmanlike to concede any thing to such a danger; that if the catholics, in addition to their present just demands, were to petition for the perpetual removal of the said lord Hawkesbury from his majesty’s councils, I think, whatever might be its effect on the destinies of Europe, and however it might retard our own individual destruction, that the prayer of the petition should be instantly complied with: Canning’s crocodile tears should not move me; the hoops of the maids of honor should not hide him:

I would tear him from the bannisters of the back stairs, and plunge him in the fishy fumes of the dirtiest of all his cinque ports.'

Whatever may be thought of the severity or malice of these invectives, Mr. Canning had no reason to complain; since his own tirades against the preceding administration were equally distinguished by those ingredients: indeed, the author of *Peter Plymley's Letters* justifies himself on this very ground; when, discharging an arrow at the foreign secretary, through his *near and dear relations*, he complains that 'hitherto every body seems to have spared a man, who never spares any body.'

When the Roman catholic petition was discussed, on the twenty-fifth of May, Mr. Canning manifested an ardent desire to elude the question, and, if possible, to let it pass off without a debate; for though a member of the present cabinet, it was well known he did not coincide on that important point with his colleagues, who had openly avowed their sentiments at this juncture, by admitting Dr. Duigenan to a seat at the privy council. While some persons extolled this appointment as a fearless indication of ministerial opinion, it was viewed by many moderate men of both parties as a wanton insult on the feelings and prejudices of the Irish people; and in the disgrace attending it, Mr. Canning was doomed to participate. In the discussion which ensued, Mr. Tierney asked;—'How ministers could suppose, that in recommending such an appointment, they were cherishing that unity and harmony, which it appeared to be his majesty's earnest desire to cultivate? He wished to hear some of them state those merits of the learned doctor, for which he had been so recommended: that sort of defence made by the right honorable secretary for Ireland (Sir Arthur Wellesley), was any thing but complimentary to his friend;—that his power of doing mischief would be very limited; and that he would only be called on for his advice on ecclesiastical questions. A noble lord and a right honorable gentleman were placed this night in a situation of peculiar embarrassment: it was the boast of that right honorable gentleman, to be the representative of Mr. Pitt's opinions; but he would venture to say, that if Mr. Pitt were living, he would be ashamed of such an appointment; and that he never would have lent himself to that contemptible system of irritation, which the present administration seemed to have adopted.'

Sir Francis Burdett, considering that the proceeds from the droits of admiralty amounted to so large a sum as to become dangerous to public liberty, felt a conviction that parliament

never could endure that it should be left at the private disposal of the king: he accordingly moved, with a view to ulterior inquiry, that an account of the net proceeds, paid out of the court of admiralty to the receiver-general of droits, since the first of January, 1793, with the balances now remaining, be laid before the house; which motion was agreed to.

When the mutiny bill came under consideration, lord Castlereagh, in reference to Mr. Windham's system, declared, that he did not object to limited service with certain modifications: he only thought it should not be enforced to the exclusion of unlimited service; and therefore moved, that a clause be inserted in the bill, allowing an option of enlistment for life; which passed by a very considerable majority.

Another measure carried this session, relating to internal defence, was the creation of a local militia, amounting to 60,000 men, to be balloted for, in proportion to the deficiency of volunteers in each county, from among persons between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. Volunteer corps were permitted, with his majesty's approbation, to transfer themselves to this militia: the period of service to be twenty-eight days in the year; for which time, pay was to be allowed.

The chancellor of the exchequer did not add much this year to the public burdens. By an arrangement with the Bank of England, a sum of £500,000 from the unclaimed dividends was obtained for immediate use; an equitable reduction in the charges made by the Bank for superintending the pecuniary concerns of the public was effected, to the amount of £64,000; and a loan of £3,000,000 was advanced by the directors, without interest, until six months after the termination of the war. The supplies amounted to about £43,000,000 for England, and £5,700,000 for Ireland; while the ways and means included a loan of £8,000,000; to provide for the interest of which, fresh taxes were only found necessary to the amount of £325,000. A new plan was introduced by the chancellor of the exchequer, to accelerate the reduction of the national debt; by which proprietors of three per cent consolidated or reduced Bank annuities might exchange them with the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, for an annuity during the continuance of one or two lives: the power of transfer however was limited to persons under thirty-five years of age, and the amount to sums not less than £100; the stock not to be transferable when the funds were above £80: the effect would be to secure to the country the redemption of the sums thus transferred, at the price at which they were when the

transfer was made. A bill for preventing the grant of offices in reversion, or for joint lives with benefit of survivorship, was brought in by Mr. Bankes, and carried through the commons; but in the lords, though supported by several members of administration, it was steadily opposed by lord chancellor Eldon, lords Arden and Redesdale, as well as by the duke of Montrose, and thrown out by a large majority: conceiving however that it was incumbent on the house of commons not to abandon a measure so intimately connected with retrenchment, Mr. Bankes brought forward another bill, similar in its object, but limited as to duration; and the bill, thus modified, passed the upper house.

Sir Samuel Romilly, who, as well as many other enlightened men, had long lamented, that in the legal code of this country so many crimes were made subject to the punishment of death, introduced a bill to repeal so much of an act of Elizabeth, as related to taking away the benefit of clergy from offenders convicted of stealing privately from the person. A clause was inserted by the solicitor-general, providing that the act of privately stealing, as distinguished from robbery, should be punished by transportation for life, or for a term of years, at the discretion of the judge; who might also commute the punishment into imprisonment for any period not exceeding three years. A bill also passed, which was framed by the lord chancellor, for the better administration of justice in Scotland: its object was to divide the court of session into two chambers of seven or eight judges; to give those courts certain powers for making regulations with respect to proceedings, and to executions in pending appeals; and also for issuing commissions to ascertain those cases in which it might be proper to establish a trial by jury. An act for prohibiting the distillation of spirits from grain, for a limited time, was strongly opposed, as tending to check that demand which encouraged agriculturists to grow more than was necessary for the ordinary support of the people, and thus ensured a supply in seasons of scarcity: it was defended as a temporary measure, on the ground that the supply of grain from the continent was cut off, and no prospect left of a sufficient resource in the last year's crop of this country.

The grand movement in Spain, pregnant with consequences so important to the rest of Europe, though it left the peninsula itself as enslaved as ever, awakened the zeal and animated the enthusiasm of the British nation to such a degree, that Mr. Sheridan seemed to act only as the organ of the pub-

lic voice, when he rose, on the fifteenth of June, to call the attention of the legislature to this subject, and to demand its utmost exertions in favor of the Spanish cause. Had his political associates learned by this example to sacrifice party feelings, and place themselves in advance of the great events now ready to burst on the world, they would probably not have had to complain of so long and total an exclusion from the affairs of government. Mr. Canning, after complimenting Mr. Sheridan on his patriotic address, declared that it called for such a disclosure of ministerial sentiments as might be made without the hazard of a dishonorable compromise, and without exciting expectations which might never be realised : accordingly, he assured the house, that his majesty's ministers saw with a deep and lively interest the noble struggle which a part of the Spanish nation was making to resist the unexampled atrocity of France, and to preserve the independence of their country : there existed the strongest disposition on the part of government to afford every practicable aid in a contest so magnanimous ; but he could not be expected to say, whether they thought the crisis arrived, or whether they anticipated its speedy approach, when the sentiments now declared must be called into action. On the fourth of July parliament was prorogued ; and the commissioners declared in his majesty's name, that he would continue to make every exertion in his power for the support of the Spanish cause.

At the commencement of this year, Austria had declared against her old ally ; alleging, as a reason, the refusal of the British government to accept the emperor's mediation for peace with France ; but the real cause of this apparent hostility lay in the predominating influence of Buonaparte, which now extended over almost every part of the continent. It was not very creditable to the Russian autocrat, that he endeavored to console himself for a humiliating connexion which necessity had cemented, by pursuing the system of rapine which distinguished his imperial ally. In February, a Russian army entered Finland, which province had always been an object of cupidity to the cabinet of St. Petersburg ; while the accession of Frederic VI. to the crown of Denmark was also followed by a declaration of war against Sweden, whose monarch, though possessed of some heroic qualities, wanted that soundness of judgment which was necessary for the right management of public affairs. Already involved in a war with France and Russia, he prepared to meet the combination of dangers with which he was threatened ; and as his resources

were very inadequate to the contest, the British government granted him a subsidy of £100,000 a month; and also sent 10,000 troops, under the command of Sir John Moore, to afford such assistance as circumstances might demand: a disagreement however between the impetuous monarch and the British general respecting their military plans, prevented all co-operation; and after several bloody battles, the fate of Gustavus Adolphus appeared inevitable; when, to avoid falling under the yoke of Russia, he entered into a convention, which virtually left the granary of Sweden in the hands of his conqueror. This occupation of Finland was the more disgraceful to Alexander, as the jealousy of Napoleon was allayed by the czar's provisional consent to his invasion of Spain, and an acknowledgement of his brother Joseph as king of that country.

Buonaparte this year effected considerable changes in the affairs of Italy: having adopted Eugene Beauharnois as his son, and settled on him the Italian kingdom in tail male, he now incorporated with it the legations of Ancona, Urbino, Macerata, and Camerino; since the pope refused to obey his commands, in adopting the continental system, and making war against England. The French troops, under general Miollis, were soon afterwards ordered to occupy Rome itself; and this aggression was the commencement of prolonged struggles, during which, Pius VII. fully expiated the condescension he had shown at the coronation of Napoleon. Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla were also annexed to the kingdom of Italy, as were Kehl, Wesel, Cassel, and Flushing to France; while a similar fate evidently hung over the Hans Towns. To complete his domestic policy, he now instituted an hereditary nobility; and the *Moniteur* exhibited a long list of princes, dukes, counts, barons, and knights of the empire. At the same time, he determined to raise up the fallen edifice of the university; but being the sworn enemy of liberty, he discarded that comprehensive system of education, which gives the utmost degree of development to the human faculties; and instituted a school capable of training up useful agents of imperial despotism, rather than men of enlightened minds.

The time had not yet arrived when Napoleon abandoned all hopes of assistance from his navy, and secured the fleets of France within her harbors: he had now collected a large squadron at Toulon, to co-operate with his troops, on the side of Calabria, in an attack on Sicily: possessed of that island, he would have been able effectually to injure our commerce, and destroy our influence in the Mediterranean: accordingly,

very powerful means were prepared for depriving us of so important a station. To counteract his views, measures were taken to fortify that part of the Sicilian coast opposite to Calabria, where a landing could be effected; while lord Collingwood blockaded the port of Toulon as closely as was consistent with his efforts to afford that opportune and energetic assistance to the Spanish patriots, which the critical state of their affairs required. A considerable French fleet, stationed at Cadiz, unable to escape by putting to sea, surrendered in June to that people who had experienced so many insults and injuries from its flag: as yet however a want of confidence in the British government, and an overweening trust in their own unassisted struggles, pervaded the Spanish nation; and when lord Collingwood wished those men of war that lay in harbor at Cadiz to join his squadron, for the purpose of intercepting any French fleet that might be sent against the Spanish dominions in South America; the supreme junta of Seville, instead of complying with his request, began even to dismantle their ships.⁶ It was fortunate both for Great Britain and Spain, that a commanding officer of such temper and experience, such honor and political sagacity, as lord Collingwood, happened to be on that station: from the battle of Trafalgar to his lamented death, our whole diplomacy with the Mediterranean states, as well as the supreme command by sea, appears to have been under his direction and guidance: and whoever duly considers the magnitude and importance of the transactions in which he was concerned, the character of the various governments, the craft and subtlety of their agents, and the obstacles arising from a variety of clashing interests and a difference in religious creeds, will confess that his was no easy task: nothing however in the whole course of the war contributed to exalt this country more in the eyes of other nations,

⁶ 'It is arms and money that they want,' says lord Collingwood: 'indeed they appear to be very averse from employing the troops which are here under general Spencer; and I feel convinced that they will not admit them into any garrison town of strength.' 'It is highly important, in all communications with the Spaniards, that there should not appear any object, on the part of Great Britain, distinct from, much less disadvantageous to, the views and interests of the Spanish nation. No object can be so important to this country as the vigorous and persevering efforts of Spain, and their intire confidence in the zealous and disinterested aid of Great Britain.' —Life of Lord Collingwood, vol. ii. pp. 170, 171.

than the manner in which that task was executed ; nor is there a name in her annals, of which England has more reason to be proud, than that of Collingwood.

As Great Britain was now about to assume a different position in the great contest of nations, by sending armies to the field as well as subsidies to cabinets, and making a display of national resources, to which the whole history of the world does not afford a parallel, we will briefly advert to the internal state of the country since we last took a view of those changes that had been brought about in the condition of its people.

Ever since the short-lived peace of Amiens, England had pursued, with increased vigor and more extraordinary results, the same means of counteracting Buonaparte's schemes of aggrandisement, as she had adopted before that period. To what an extent the system of borrowing and taxing was now carried, may be seen in the income and expenditure of the present year, as compared with that of 1793: according to Marshall's tables, the income now arising from taxation was £60,751,973, and the government expenditure was £70,645,219, the sum borrowed amounting to £9,893,246; while the corresponding sums for 1793 were, income £36,847,882, expenditure £45,823,783, loans £8,975,901. The principal source whence the present enormous supplies were raised lay in paper-money; which, in notes of the Bank of England and country banks, as well as in commercial and government bills, now circulated to so large an amount, as to depreciate the currency, and violate existing contracts, to the great advantage of the payers: in the mean time, manufactures and commerce, notwithstanding all Napoleon's efforts to enforce the continental system, were prodigiously extending themselves, but without improving the condition of the lower orders: hence it was manifest to an observant eye, that our prosperity was fictitious, and that a time must come when a reaction would take place: this appeared still more evident to those who contemplated the state of agricultural laborers, and compared it with that of their employers: as their money wages did not rise in proportion to the money prices of produce, the farmer had in this a large source of gain: he became a thriving man; his credit increased; and since the paper system was highly favorable to the establishment of country banks, he was readily supplied with their notes: thus he was enabled occasionally to keep back his produce and raise prices, as well as to augment his capital and obtain a greater profit from his land: in the mean time, the impoverish-

ment of his laborers, subject as their condition is to much less counteraction than that of other classes, became apparent in the assessments made for their relief: the average annual amount of these, from the year 1804 to 1808 inclusive, being about £6,500,000; nearly thrice the sum required in 1793.

The extended use of improved machinery in some branches of manufacture enabled British merchants to undersell those of all other countries, and yet to realise large profits: the manufacturer therefore aimed at extending his business, and paid high wages, until the influx of numbers into the profitable districts brought them down; and at this time, the manufacturing laborers began to partake of the general depression, and serious disturbances took place in Manchester and the neighboring districts. That this reduction of wages did not result from any decline of foreign commerce, is evident from the tables, which show, that in 1793 the official value of produce, exported, beyond colonial produce re-exported, was £14,605,753, and in the present year £26,691,063: yet loans, taxes, and consequent high profits, were sufficient to bring down wages to a great extent: the annual abstraction of £50,000,000 to £70,000,000 of capital from productive use, or from trade, necessarily increased the general rate of profit, as was shown by the state of the public funds; the price of three per cent consols, at the end of February, 1803, being 71 $\frac{1}{4}$, and at the same period this year 63 $\frac{1}{2}$.

The number of enclosure bills in 1808 was ninety-two; and the cultivation of land was found so profitable, that every agriculturist was anxious to increase his occupation; whence farms became larger, and a consequent improvement in husbandry ensued: proprietors of land took advantage of the general competition for it; so that rents were raised to an extent that more than compensated for taxes and every other burden imposed on them by the war. To counteract what was abstracted from the wages of labor, there was only the increase in the productive power of the people, added to the depreciation of the currency; the former enabling the laboring classes to bring more wealth into existence, while the latter caused less of it to be taken, especially by the owners of annuities: still these combined forces were not so powerful as that which acted in a contrary direction; so that wages declined, and with them the condition of the working classes: and this showed which party suffered by the war.

No people could have been better prepared to enter heart and soul into the contest against Buonaparte than the Portuguese;

for never had such a system of massacre, confiscation, plunder, and violation of all rights religious or social, been carried on, as that which distinguished the brief period of French usurpation. The villanous designs of Napoleon on Spain were well known to Junot; who, perceiving the deep interest that was felt in the transactions of Aranjuez and Madrid, not only by the Spanish soldiers leagued with the French in Portugal, but by the Portuguese themselves, lost no time in taking all possible precautions against the effects of their agitation. As soon however as tidings of the patriotic war in Spain became known, the Spanish troops separated from their perfidious allies; and, collecting in bodies, began to march toward their injured country: in the Alentejo, 600 of them had an engagement with about an equal French force, which they repulsed with great gallantry; and at Oporto, they marched off with the French commander as their prisoner: 5000, who remained in Lisbon and the adjoining country, were disarmed, and placed in confinement. Intelligence of insurrections now arriving from every quarter, Junot began to prepare for the defence of Lisbon, fortifying the castle, and laying in stores of all kinds: the inhabitants were disarmed, and placed under the severest restrictions; every artifice being contrived to give the French a pretext for sacking the town: one detachment was sent to reduce the insurgents in the north; another was despatched on the same service to the south; while preparations were made for an encampment on the Campo d'Ourique; from which spot, as well as from the castle, the city was commanded. Junot's celebrated proclamation had already been issued:—'Portuguese,' it said, 'what delirium is this! into what an abyss of evils are you about to plunge! after seven months of the most perfect tranquillity and harmony, what reason can you have for taking up arms? and against whom?—against an army which is to secure your independence, and maintain the integrity of your country—a numerous, brave, and veteran army, before which you would be scattered, as the sands of the desert before the fierce winds of the south!' After cautioning them to beware of English heretics, who sought equally to debase their country and destroy their religion; he declared, that the emperor had, at his solicitation, graciously remitted half the contribution imposed on them, and that he was on the point of accomplishing all their wishes; that this was the moment to implore his clemency, and propitiate his offended majesty; for his armies were already on their frontiers; and every person

taken in arms would instantly be shot; every town or city rising against the French would be delivered up to destruction, and its inhabitants to the sword.

Yet notwithstanding these threats and this boasting, Junot was well aware of the storm gathering around him. Spain was in arms: the French squadron at Cadiz had surrendered: the governor of Gibraltar and the British admiral were co-operating with a people, whom it had long been painful to consider as enemies: the Portuguese had caught the spirit of their neighbors: the British flag, always victorious on the ocean, was in sight from Lisbon; nor could there be a doubt but that England would seize the first favorable opportunity of sending aid to the most ancient and faithful of her allies.

Junot's measures were taken with that promptitude and energy which the occasion required: he hoped to crush the insurgents before any English force could arrive; and wherever they ventured to oppose the regular French troops, the event was as he had foretold. While Kellerman and Avril were ravaging the Alentejo, the cruel and rapacious Loison was laying waste the north of Portugal; and the French soldiers made full use of the license allowed them by their commanders; returning to Lisbon loaded with spoils, and with the execrations of the people. 'Beja has revolted,' said Kellerman, in one of his proclamations; 'Beja no longer exists: its guilty inhabitants have been cut off with the edge of the sword, and its houses delivered up to pillage and the flames.' The last provincial city which suffered before the hope of retribution appeared, was Evora, against which Loison carried a powerful detachment. General Leite had collected here the great mass of insurgents; and, being assisted by three or four thousand Spaniards, took a position to cover the town. When Loison came up, he directed Margaron and Solignac to turn their flanks, while he attacked their centre: the Spaniards performed no service, and the Portuguese soon took to flight, and were cut down by the cavalry: a part, entering the town, made an effort of despair to arrest the progress of the enemy; but the concluding scene gave to this unhappy country a foretaste of the misery which it was about to drain, even to the dregs. Evora was given up to immediate pillage: nine hundred persons of different ages and sexes were put to the sword in the streets and churches; thirty-eight of the clergy, with the bishop of Maranham, were murdered; and the nunneries being forced open, their unfortunate inmates were sacrificed to French cruelty and lust.

But the period of retribution was at hand, when the ruthless invaders were to be driven with ignominy from their plunder, and to suffer some of those evils which they had inflicted on their victims. An armament had been prepared in England for the purpose of attacking the Spanish settlements in South America, when news arrived from old Spain which instantly converted enemies into friends and allies: this force, consisting of 10,000 men, sailed from Cork on the twelfth of July, under Sir Arthur Wellesley; and arrived at Coruña, only a few days after the fatal battle had taken place at Rio Seco, which opened the road for king Joseph to Madrid. The British commander immediately offered the assistance of his force to the junta of Galicia; but though the Spaniards were flying in all directions, they were as yet uninstructed by misfortunes, and at the same time cautious of heretical interference: their reply therefore was, that they wished for nothing from the British government except money, arms, and ammunition: but the liberation of Lisbon was pointed out as an object worthy of British valor; and to Portugal the great deliverer of the peninsula proceeded. The French forces were concentrated in the south, and Junot had rendered the capital almost impregnable; but in the north the authority of the prince regent had been re-established: juntas, like those in Spain, were formed; and Oporto was free from the presence of its invaders: these circumstances determined Sir Arthur to proceed to that city; since he had received no definite instructions from the British government beyond a recommendation to co-operate with Portugal and Spain in their efforts to throw off the French yoke, and certain rules for the direction of his political conduct. The bishop of Oporto, who was at the head of the junta there, had already claimed assistance from the British government. 'We hope,' said that prelate, 'for an aid of 300,000 *cruzado novas*; of arms and accoutrements complete; and of cloth for 40,000 infantry and 8000 cavalry; 3000 barrels of gunpowder; some cargoes of salt fish and other provisions; with 6000 auxiliary troops at least, including some cavalry.' Yet at this period an army of 5000 organised men could not have been put in motion against the French; nor had any rational plan of operations been thought of: 'the times however,' as colonel Napier observes, 'were favorable for extravagant demands; and his were not rejected by the English ministers, who sent agents to Oporto and other parts, with power to grant supplies. The improvident system adopted for Spain, being thus extended to Portugal, produced

precisely the same effects; that is, cavils, intrigues, waste, insubordination, inordinate vanity, and ambition among the ignorant, upstart men of the day.' ⁷

When Sir Arthur Wellesley arrived at Oporto, he did not feel inclined to join the large army, which the bishop, assisted by the civil and military authorities, had drawn out for his inspection on paper; nor otherwise to engage in plans laid down by episcopal authority: having therefore given his advice that these paper troops should be employed in the defence of the *Tras os Montes*, against the advance of Bessières, he determined, after consultation with admiral Sir Charles Cotton, to land at the mouth of the Mondego, at such a distance from Lisbon as would ensure the unmolested disembarkation of his men: at the same time he sent orders to general Spencer, who had been long wandering like a knight errant, seeking adventures in Andalusia, to set sail, and join him with the forces under his command. Thus he put an end, by that decision which generally accompanies great talents, to the double line of operations laid down by lord Castlereagh, in defiance of all military principles.⁸ Various other obstacles however were yet to be overcome, which the British cabinet, going beyond even the Aulic council in absurdity, raised up to try his patience, while they proved his fitness for command. Off the Mondego he received despatches, which announced, not only the sailing of Sir John Moore's troops, but the appointment of Sir Hew Dalrymple, lieutenant-governor of Gibraltar, to the chief command of all the British forces sent to Portugal. This mortifying intelligence did not relax his activity: but having heard of Dupont's capitulation, he determined to disembark, without waiting for general Spencer's arrival; though by singular good fortune, that officer joined him at this moment, without having received his orders: for with equal promptitude and sagacity he set sail for the Tagus when Dupont surrendered, and was directed by the admiral to Mondego bay.

The army, when landed, amounted only to 12,300 men; for a part of general Spencer's force was kept on board the transports to be reconveyed to Gibraltar. The British commander immediately held a conference with Don Bernadim Freire, the Portuguese generalissimo, who proposed that the troops of both nations should relinquish all communication with the coast; and, throwing themselves into the heart of Beira, commence an offensive campaign; in furtherance of

⁷ Peninsular War, vol. i. p. 173.

⁸ Ibid. vol. i. p. 184.

which plan he promised ample stores of provisions: but Sir Arthur had already discovered the weakness of the insurrection, and placed no reliance on such promises: having therefore supplied Freire with 5000 stand of arms, he resolved to rely on his own resources; and as he had a great disadvantage in the want of cavalry, and the inexperience of his commissariat staff, he prudently determined not to depart far from the sea-coast; to keep his troops in a mass; and to strike a blow as near to Lisbon as possible.

In the mean time, the French commander in that capital began to feel considerable embarrassment: his principal force was at a distance; the patriots in the south, assisted by the Spaniards, were beginning to rise; the strength of the insurgents in the north was greatly exaggerated by reports; the inhabitants of Lisbon were hostile in the highest degree to their oppressors; and a British army, under a commander already known to fame, was advancing along the coast, with the advantage of a powerful navy either for supplies or retreat. At this time general Loison was in the neighborhood of Estremos and Villa Viciosa, with about 8000 men; 2500 were in the fortresses of Elvas and Almeida; a small corps was in Abrantes; 1000 were in Santarem, and the same number in Peniche; a brigade was at Alcobaça; and the remainder were in and about Lisbon; the Tagus being strongly guarded, and the communication between its north and south banks kept up by the refitted Portuguese ships, a Russian squadron, and innumerable boats.⁹

In the beginning of August, Junot ordered Loison to advance by Portalegre and Abrantes, for the purpose of forming a junction, at or near Leiria, with general Laborde, who quitted Lisbon on the sixth with 3000 infantry, about 600 cavalry, and five pieces of artillery; proceeding by way of Villa Franca, Rio Mayor, and Candeiros, to observe the movements of the British. Junot himself remained for the present at Lisbon, to repress insurrectionary movements; but being disquieted by the rising of the patriots about Alcacer do Sal and Setuval, he despatched Kellerman to disperse them, ordering him to withdraw its garrison from the latter place, and abandon all other French posts on the south of the Tagus, except Palmella: Kellerman however had scarcely departed, when a small British force, arriving off the bar, excited the turbulence of the inhabitants; and in this state of perplexity and irresolution

⁹ Napier, vol. i. 189.

Junot lingered till the fifteenth, when the progress of the British army forced him to take the field in person. In the peculiar state of affairs at Lisbon, he thought proper to leave more than 7000 men under general Travot; so that he carried with him only a reserve of 2000 infantry and 600 cavalry, with ten pieces of artillery. His march was delayed by several untoward circumstances, during which time Sir Arthur Wellesley had cut the line of communication between Loison and Laborde, and was severely pressing the latter, whom he brought to action on the seventeenth at Roriça: after a severe contest, he drove him from that strong position, with a loss of 600 killed or wounded to the vanquished, and nearly as many to the victors; but the latter had now the road to Torres Vedras open before them. As Sir Arthur received intelligence that Loison's division was at Bombarral, only five miles distant, he took up a position for the night near the field of battle; and thinking that Loison and Laborde had effected a junction, resolved to march next morning on Torres Vedras: but before night-fall, he learned that reinforcements under generals Anstruther and Acland, with a large fleet of store-ships, were off the coast: he therefore changed his plans, and advanced on Vimiero, a village near the sea, in order to protect their embarkation. In the mean time, Junot, on the eighteenth, quitted Cercal, where he had effected a junction with Loison's corps, and in the evening of the same day gained the heights of Torres Vedras: on the nineteenth, he was joined by Laborde, and next day by his corps of reserve; when he prepared his army for a decisive action. His troops consisted of about 14,000 men, while Sir Arthur's army was now increased to 16,000, exclusive of colonel Trant's Portuguese brigade: also two British regiments under general Beresford were with the fleet at the mouth of the Tagus. In such a state of affairs, the British commander designed to strike the first blow; and by following it up, to prevent the enemy from rallying, and renewing the campaign: in this view, he had previously written to Sir Harry Burrard, giving a statement of his own proceedings and intentions; and recommending, that when Sir John Moore arrived with his division, he should disembark at the Mondego, and march instantly to Santarem; by which movement he would protect the left of the army, block the line of the Tagus, and threaten the French communication between Lisbon and Elvas; while 3000 Portuguese under the marquis Valladeres at Guarda, and 5000 under Freire at Leiria, might be induced to co-operate with him. Junot's position at Torres Vedras, about nine miles from Vimiero, was

known to be very strong, and difficult of approach, on account of a long defile, through which an advancing army must pass to reach the summit: but there was a road along the sea-coast which opened a way to Mafra in its rear: taking advantage of this, Sir A. Wellesley, who had very exact surveys of the country, intended, by a forced march on the twenty-first, to turn the position of Torres Vedras: when, occupying Mafra by a strong advanced guard, while the main body seized some advantageous heights at no great distance from that town, he would intercept the French line of march to Montechique. Preparations therefore were made for these important movements, which would probably have finished the Portuguese campaign: 'but at this critical period,' says colonel Napier, 'the ministerial arrangements, which provided three commanders-in-chief, began to work: Sir H. Burrard arrived in a frigate off the bay of Maceira; when Sir Arthur was checked in the midst of his operations, and on the eve of a decisive battle. Having repaired on board the vessel, he made his report of the situation of affairs, and renewed his former recommendations respecting the disposal of Sir John Moore's troops; but Burrard, who had previously resolved to bring the latter down to Maceira, condemned this project, and forbade any offensive movement until the whole army should be concentrated; whereon Sir Arthur returned to his camp.'

The British troops were disposed on some heights in the form of an irregular triangle, the apex of which, formed by a hill in front of the village, was well covered with troops: the right abutted on the sea; and on the left, the piquets alone appeared visible to an enemy, the division which was stationed behind them being hidden by the nature of the ground. Junot determined with great spirit to assail his adversary in this position; and quitted Torres Vedras on the evening of the twentieth, intending to commence operations at daybreak: but the difficulties of the ground delayed his march, and fatigued his troops; so that he could not begin the attack before ten o'clock: the method of it was as follows: general Laborde led one brigade against the centre; while Brennier headed another against the left, followed by Loison's at a short interval: Kellerman, with a reserve of grenadiers, moved behind Loison; and the cavalry under Margaron, about 1300 in number, was divided; part being on Brennier's right, and part behind the reserve: thirty-three pieces of artillery, distributed among the columns, opened their fire wherever the ground was favorable.

The attacks on the British centre and left were intended to

be simultaneous ; but Brennier came unexpectedly on a deep ravine, by which the left was defended ; and his troops got entangled in the intricacies of the ground : thus Laborde was engaged alone with the divisions under generals Fane and Anstruther ; being exposed, in his advance, not only to a tremendous fire of their artillery, but to the guns of the eighth brigade, which halted as it was in the act of mounting the heights toward the left. After this failure in his first combinations, Junot ordered Loison to support Laborde's attack with one of his brigades ; while general Solignac, with the other, turned the ravine in which Brennier was entangled, in order to fall on the extreme left of the British. General Fane, seeing this, ordered up the reserve artillery under colonel Robe, which formed a very powerful battery, and dreadfully shattered the enemy's masses as they advanced in column ; a dangerous manœuvre in face of troops like the British, drawn out in line ; though irresistible against forces of inferior courage and discipline : the French however gallantly rushed forward, headed by Laborde in person ; and arrived at the summit of the English position, panting from their exertions : before they had time to recover their breath, the fiftieth regiment poured a close discharge of musketry into their ranks ; and then charging them in front and flank, intirely overthrew them. After a minor attack had been repulsed by another part of Fane's brigade, and the forty-third regiment had gallantly driven back, though with severe loss to itself, that portion of the reserve which Kellerman sent to protect the retreat, the French were so discomfited in the centre, that, deserting seven guns, they retired in a direction parallel to the British line, leaving the road to Torres Vedras open to their opponents : no advantage however could now be taken of this circumstance ; since a large body of French grenadiers were thrown into a pine wood, flanking the line of retreat, and Margaron's well-appointed cavalry was almost uninjured.

In the mean time, while Brennier's brigade was still hampered in the ravine, Solignac passed along the crest of a ridge above it, and came on general Ferguson's brigade, which was posted at the left of the British position : but, where the French expected to find a weak line, they encountered a deep front of battle, protected on each side by steep declivities : a powerful artillery swept off their foremost ranks ; and on their right, the British fifth brigade and Portuguese auxiliaries were seen advancing over a distant ridge. Ferguson instantly bore down on the enemy, who fell back with great loss ; their cavalry

charged his impetuous line without effect; Solignac was carried from the field severely wounded; and six guns were captured. Though Brennier, who at length had cleared the ravine, came up, and retook the artillery, his success was only momentary: the British troops, having rallied, returned with a shout to the charge, recovered the guns, and took the general himself prisoner. Ferguson, having thus separated the French brigades, would have forced the greater part of Solignac's division to surrender, had not an unexpected order obliged him to halt! the discomfited French then re-formed under protection of their cavalry, and joined the broken brigades that were retiring from the attack on the centre.

It was now noon, and the battle was won: thirteen guns, with several hundreds of prisoners, remained in the hands of the victors; and more than 2000 had fallen, dead or wounded, in the French ranks. A large portion of our army was yet untouched: the first brigade, which had not fired a shot, was nearer by two miles than any part of the French line to Torres Vedras; and hither Sir Arthur Wellesley determined to push forward the brigades of Hill, Anstruther, and Fane; which, seizing on the defiles, might advance to Montechique, and thus cut off Junot's retreat to Lisbon. At that decisive moment, Sir H. Burrard, who was present during the action, but had hitherto had the delicacy to abstain from interfering with Sir Arthur's movements, thought proper to assume the chief command: his order had arrested general Ferguson's troops in their victorious career; and he now stopped the ulterior operations of the army, resolving to wait in the position of Vimiero for the arrival of Sir John Moore. No representations could move him: with the caution natural to age, he was reluctant to hazard the fortune of the day on what he deemed a perilous cast; and Junot profited by this unexpected cessation of the battle, to re-form his broken columns: 1200 fresh troops now joined him; and, covered by his well-appointed cavalry, he retreated with order and celerity till he regained the pass of Torres Vedras, and placed the two armies in the same relative positions which they had occupied the evening before.¹⁰

¹⁰ The best apology that can be offered for this decision of Sir H. Burrard, is made by colonel Napier, though he considers it as erroneous. For many interesting details and remarks on the battle of Vimiero, and the convention which followed it, the reader is referred to his 'History of the Peninsular War;' a work, which deserves a place on the same shelf with Sallust and Cæsar, Thucydides and Polybius.

The arrangements made by Sir Harry did not long remain in force ; for early on the morning of the twenty-second, Sir Hew Dalrymple disembarked, and took the command out of his hands : that leader decided to advance on the twenty-third ; he agreed however with Sir H. Burrard, that the project was perilous, and required the concentration of all the troops ; for which reason he did not rescind the order for Sir John Moore's advance to the Maceira, though Sir Arthur Wellesley strongly remonstrated against it, as interfering with the supplies necessary for the army, when the fleet was likely to be driven off the coast by the gales common to this season of the year, and the bishop of Oporto had shamefully failed in all his promises. While Sir Hew was in a state of deliberation, a flag of truce opportunely came from Junot, who was alarmed by reports from Lisbon, and desired a cessation of hostilities, previous to a convention, by which the French should evacuate Portugal : this proposal, by which a large army, possessing strong places of defence before Lisbon, as well as a retreat on the fortresses of Elvas and Almeida, might be quietly disposed of, seemed a very unexpected advantage to Sir Hew Dalrymple, at a period of doubt and difficulty : an armistice was accordingly agreed to, which formed the basis of what was then, and is still called, the convention of Cintra, though the transaction took place thirty miles from that spot : its essential articles were, that the English government should, at their own expense, transport the French army to any port of France between Rochefort and L'Orient ; not to be considered prisoners of war, but free to serve again at any time ; and that all property public or private, justly obtained, was to be untouched, and might either be sold in Portugal, or carried off into France : the embarkation was to take place in three divisions, the first to sail within seven days : no native of Portugal was to be molested on account of his political conduct during the French occupation of the country ; and such persons as were desirous of withdrawing into France were to have full liberty to dispose of their effects. When the insurrection in Spain first broke out, Junot had ordered the Spanish troops, serving in his army, to be confined on board the ships then in harbor : in return for their deliverance, the British commander engaged to obtain the release of such French subjects as were detained in Spain, without having been taken in battle. Sir Charles Cotton concluded a separate convention with admiral Siniavin, for the surrender of the Russian squadron in the Tagus ; which, with its stores, was to be held by England, as a deposit,

till six months after the conclusion of a peace; the admiral, officers, and seamen being sent to Russia, without any restriction as to future service, at the expense of Great Britain. In Portugal, as well as in England, the terms of this convention produced universal discontent. The Portuguese general Freire, the very existence of whose army was unknown to Sir Hew Dalrymple, entered a formal protest against it; and the coolness which already existed between the two services was thereby increased: it appeared however that his interference was intimately connected with a design, which that meddling and ambitious priest, the bishop of Oporto, had conceived, to place himself at the head of the insurrectional authorities, and transfer the seat of government from Lisbon to the former city.¹¹

On the fifteenth of September, the French troops completed their embarkation, and Portugal was intirely freed from the presence of invaders, who, during ten months, had inflicted on her the most grievous calamities: the British however did not begin their march toward Spain till long after the ratification of the convention of the treaty: that fatal convention drew with it a long train of disaster and disgrace; one of its first effects being to suspend all military operations, while the three commanders returned to England in consequence of an inquiry which was instituted relative to their conduct. During the course of this investigation, Sir A. Wellesley exhibited a trait of magnanimity very honorable to his character: forgetting the want of delicacy in Sir H. Burrard, who had snatched the laurels from his hand just as he had grasped them, he generously strove to vindicate that officer's subsequent conduct: no reflection *could* be cast on his own: so poor Sir Hew Dalrymple was made a scape-goat to bear the sins of ministers: in fact, they ought to have been put on their trial, not the generals; and to the vote of censure passed on Sir Hew they were justly intitled.

After the evacuation of Lisbon, a regency was established, which, by restoring comparative tranquillity, taught the people to estimate the advantages they had obtained from their British allies, and preserved them from the pernicious counsels of the bishop of Oporto with his factious coadjutors: nor was it long, before the nation, laying aside that extravagant pride and vain boasting which produced only intemperate counsels and

¹¹ For a full account of this plot, see colonel Napier's History, vol. i. ch. vi.

futile acts, clung to its ancient protectress, and submitted to her direction, with a docility and patience that was attended with the happiest results.

Spain, on the contrary, preserved her pride, and haughtily rejected all advice. Unconscious of her own weakness, and remembering only her former state, when she was the oppressor rather than the oppressed, when she granted rather than solicited assistance, she deceived herself, and for a time deceived others, by the lofty attitude which she assumed ; so that while the Portuguese were represented as objects of contempt, the vigor and elasticity of Spanish patriotism became the theme of general praise ; and a speedy triumph over the base aggression of Buonaparte was confidently anticipated. But blind confidence and arrogant presumption were in this case mistaken for wisdom, energy, and valor. Even after Joseph Buonaparte had given the utmost possible effect to the catastrophe at Baylen, by abandoning Madrid, and raising the siege of Saragossa, the Spaniards were unable to follow up their success : all the advantage gained was an opportunity of again proclaiming the 'beloved' Ferdinand king of Spain ; which event, instead of uniting hearts and hands in the active service of their country, merely set at work a thousand instruments of base and busy intrigue : the only energetic portion of the nation lay in the undisciplined peasantry ; but they who ought to have directed them were tainted members of the body politic ; and the feeble, dilatory operations of the Spanish armies were not less owing to the incapacity of their generals, than to the boundless arrogance and base selfishness of the local governments : among these the juntas of Seville, Galicia, and the Asturias were eminently notorious ; all their efforts being directed to secure the permanency of their own authority ; and the money and resources both of England and Spain were eagerly applied to advance this pernicious object. If a volume were written on the state of Spain, and the character of its population at this period, better information could not be obtained on this subject, than that which is contained in the following short extract from colonel Napier's standard work :—'The mass of the nation, blinded by personal hatred, thought only of revenge ; while the leaders, arrogant and incapable, neither sought nor wished for any higher motive of action : without unity of design, and devoid of arrangement, their policy was mean and personal ; their military efforts were abortive ; and a rude, unscientific warfare disclosed at once the barbarous violence of the Spanish character, and the

utter decay of Spanish institutions.' ¹² A desire to amend that character, by promoting reformation in their institutions, had no share in the policy of the British government: the time was not yet arrived, when its cabinet began to concern itself about popular rights, or the general interests of humanity: and while the French emperor, even in the midst of his unjust aggressions, was meditating the regeneration of the people; Great Britain, considering the Spanish insurrection only as an opening through which Napoleon himself might be assailed, allied herself to all the bigotry and fanaticism of the nation. Such a charge, though true, is rather unfairly pressed against the administration of that day by the distinguished author of 'The Peninsular War:' in fact, the overthrow of Napoleon was rightly made the grand object of our policy: the safety of England, as well as the existence of European liberty, depended on the extinction of the tyrant: he, by his abduction of Ferdinand, fixed that monster in the very hearts of the people: he also, by an attack on church property, and a dissolution of many religious establishments, had enlisted the bigotry of the nation against himself: without allying ourselves therefore to its fanaticism, and to the cause of Ferdinand, we could not have entered the country, but as enemies: besides, it was not then a time for quixotic efforts in favor of a new constitution; which, perhaps, can never be profitably and permanently conferred on a degenerate race, except after an ordeal calculated to render it a proper recipient of such a blessing: whatever blame therefore may have attached itself to the British cabinet subsequently, when the 'beloved' Ferdinand was restored to Spain, and no efforts were made to protect those who had bled with us in his cause from the most grievous persecution under that contemptible bigot, Mr. Perceval's administration is free from reproach: its principal fault consisted in not having made due preparation for an event which had been long foreseen; ¹³ in not having drawn its own forces from useless expeditions, and

¹² Vol. i. p. 266.

¹³ 'The subjugation of Portugal,' says colonel Napier, 'was neither a recent nor a secret project of Napoleon. In 1806, Mr. Fox, penetrating this design, had sent lord Rosslyn, lord St. Vincent, and general Simcoe, on a mission to Lisbon, to warn the court, that a French army for the invasion of Portugal was assembling at Bayonne, and to offer the assistance of a British force: but the Portuguese cabinet affected to disbelieve the information; Mr. Fox died; and the Prussian war diverted Napoleon's attention to more important objects.' vol. i. p. 164.

concentrated them for a grand attack, before Spanish enthusiasm had evaporated; and in employing agents, whose incapacity and inexperience rendered them dupes to interested and designing men. 'They were empowered,' says colonel Napier, 'to distribute money, arms, and succors of clothing and ammunition; and the want of system and forethought in the cabinet was palpable from the injudicious zeal of these inferior agents, each of whom conceived himself competent to direct the whole of the political and military transactions.'¹⁴ Hence not only were the British resources lavishly wasted on ambitious juntas and antiquated commanders, while the armies were left unprovided with the common necessities of life; but the whole tenor of affairs differed widely from official reports, occasioning serious loss, both of treasure and of life. The only person who appeared to understand the nature of Spanish affairs, or the character of the insurrection, was Mr. Stuart, our envoy at Madrid; and his greatest trouble consisted in establishing a right to control the proceedings of the other civil and military agents: yet when he had effected this object, and had gained not only the confidence of the Spaniards, but such experience as would have been eminently useful to the British generals, he was superseded to make room for Mr. Hookham Frere, one of Mr. Canning's literary associates; a gentleman of high classical attainments; but deficient in that experience, which was requisite to guide him in one of the most difficult situations that ever fell to the lot of man.

Of all the Spanish armies, after the defeat of the French at Baylen, that of Andalusia was the most efficient: it consisted of 30,000 regular troops, with a good train of artillery, but was constrained to remain idle by the government of Seville, to support the authority of that body over the other Andalusian juntas. A month elapsed after Dupont's capitulation, before Castaños made his entry into the capital with a division of 7000 men, leaving the same number at Toledo, and the rest about the Sierra Morena. When Bessières retired after Du-

¹⁴ 'The fault,' he observes, 'did not attach so much to the agents, as to the ministers who selected them: it was difficult for inexperienced men to avoid the snare. Living with the chiefs of armies actually in the field, being in habits of daily intercourse with them, holding rank in the same service, and dependent on their politeness for every convenience, the agent was in a manner forced to see as the general saw, and to report as he wished. A simple spy would have been far more efficacious.' vol. i. p. 273.

pont's defeat, Blake occupied Leon, Astorga, and the pass of Manzanal; but he durst not enter into the plain without cavalry: and Cuesta, a choleric and arbitrary old officer, who had quarrelled with Blake, not only refused to transfer his dragoons to the latter, at the command of the junta of Castile and Leon; but having collected and armed 10,000 peasants, he threatened to punish the junta, as interfering with the province, of which he was captain-general: so Blake was obliged to carry his army, by forced marches, to the rugged district of St. Ander, between Biscay and the Asturias. The Murcian and Valencian army separated; general Llamas, with 12,000 infantry and a few horse, took the road to Madrid; while St. Marc carried the Valencians to the relief of Saragossa; where Palafox, one of the most contemptible wretches that ever usurped the title of a hero, discovered inordinate presumption, and assumed the supreme authority. The infantry of the Estremaduran army, composed of new levies, was strengthened by some battalions of the Walloon and royal guards, and supplied with all needful equipments by Sir Hew Dalrymple: it had 4000 cavalry, which, though useless in Estremadura, its commander, Galluzzo, refused to send either to Blake or to Madrid, even at the earnest entreaties of Sir Hew, as well as of the juntas of Badajoz and Seville. Meanwhile the Spanish captives, released in Portugal, were clothed, armed, and sent to Catalonia in British transports: they also carried 10,000 stand of arms, with ammunition, for that province, in which the war was conducted on both sides, without any reference to the movements of the main armies. At a period somewhat later, a British fleet landed at St. Ander more than 10,000 well-disciplined Spanish soldiers, under the marquis de la Romana, who had been very ingeniously extricated from their quarters in Holstein, Sleswig, Jutland, and the Danish isles: being disembarked and equipped from the English stores, they proceeded by divisions to join Blake's army. All these corps were many days' march from the enemy and from each other: their chiefs, at variance with the juntas, and at enmity between themselves, were inactive or doing mischief.

In this fancied state of security, the people of Biscay prepared to rise; the duke del Infantado and others at Madrid made strenuous efforts to hasten an explosion, which they ought to have restrained till the English and Blake could assist them; but before the former could land their succors, and while Blake was still in the mountains, general Merlin with 3000 grenadiers came down on the wretched Biscayans, and

quenching the insurrection in their blood, destroyed one of the principal resources which Blake had in prospect. After this, a French corps advanced towards Saragossa, and Palafox in alarm threatened the junta of Castile with vengeance: a council of war was held at Madrid, and a plan of operations drawn out; but Castaños, the captain-general, was unable to march for want of money, since the maritime provinces intercepted and absorbed all the English supplies: in this dilemma, colonel Doyle drew bills on the government of Seville, payable out of 2,000,000 dollars just transmitted to the junta, through Mr. Duff at Cadiz: that unprincipled body however would have dishonored these bills, if the energetic remonstrances of major Cox had not been seconded by the discovery of a plot against their lives, concocted at Madrid: they then forwarded 200,000 dollars, with which the troops were put in motion; and 40,000 fresh levies were enrolled: but Napoleon's plan of disarming the country had been carried so completely into effect, that only 3000 muskets could be procured: in this dilemma, the duke del Infantado, and the other governing powers at Madrid, wrote to Sir Hew Dalrymple, requesting that the firelocks of Junot's army and the arms of the Portuguese people should be sent to the frontier, and thence forwarded to Madrid: and this extraordinary proposition was made at a time when England had already transmitted to Spain 160,000 muskets, 50,000 of which were shut up in the arsenal at Seville by its junta, while the national armies were left defenceless.¹⁵

So odious had the provincial juntas at length become, through their selfishness, rapacity, and inability, that a northern cortes was convoked at Lugo, chiefly through the exertions of Mr. Stuart; which, in unison with the council of Castile, declared for a central and supreme government: this plan however was opposed, in an underhand manner, by the flagitious junta of Seville, as well as by the bishop of Orense and the junta of Galicia, who were prepared to assert the supremacy of that province over all the others: but these counterplots were disconcerted by the quickness and decision of the Bailly Valdez of Castile, one of few disinterested men of the time, but obnoxious to general Cuesta, who was anxious to subject all powers to a military despotism. This sullen and ferocious man sent an order to disannul all their proceedings; and this being rejected, he abandoned the operations of the

¹⁵ Napier's History, vol. i. p. 285.

campaign, which in the council at Madrid he had promised to aid; then falling back on Segovia with 12,000 men, he arrested the deputies, and shut up Valdez in its tower, with an intention of trying him by a military commission. Still in the midst of this confusion and violence, the plan of forming a central government gained ground; and after fresh disputes, the deputies from the different juntas agreed to meet for that purpose at Aranjuez; shrinking from publicity, and refusing to identify themselves with the people in the capital, lest they should expose themselves to just indignation before they had consolidated their power. The central court being formed, and the count Florida Blanca, a man in the last stage of decrepitude, chosen first president for three months, the members proceeded to assert their dignity by ordering Cuesta to release his captive, and repair to Aranjuez: at first he haughtily repelled their interference; but finally was obliged to yield: no formal proceedings were held on the case; and the old general was detained at the seat of government, a kind of state prisoner at large; until, for the misfortune of his country, he was, by subsequent events, again placed at the head of an army.¹⁶

Such was the state of affairs when lord William Bentinck joined Mr. Stuart at Madrid; and his lordship, coinciding in the opinions of that gentleman, labored earnestly with him to direct the attention of the central junta to the necessity of military preparations and active exertions for defence: but while the provincial juntas still retained their misused power in their own districts, their folly and improvidence were even surpassed by the central government. Scarcely were its members assembled, before all hopes of a vigorous administration were blasted. Their first act was to divide themselves into sections, each being supreme and independent: attentive to their own interests, they declared their persons inviolable, and appropriated to themselves high-sounding titles and large salaries: but they constantly deferred the election of a commander-in-chief, notwithstanding the urgent remonstrances of the British envoys; and confirmed the old generals in their independent commands: they totally disregarded the wishes of the English government, though the Spanish nation had at this time been supplied by it with 200,000 muskets, clothing and ammunition in proportion, and sixteen millions of dollars: yet their armies were destitute, and their fighting men without arms or bread: they had contracted a large debt; and now with unparalleled insolence demanded

¹⁶ Napier, vol. i. p. 301.

from England an immediate gift of ten millions of dollars, with stores that might have sufficed a well-governed army for many years. 'The picture,' says colonel Napier, from whose pages the above sketch is chiefly drawn, 'may appear exaggerated; for without having seen, it is difficult for one to believe the extent of a disorder, that paralysed the enthusiasm of a whole people.'

Such were the preparations made by Spain in September and October to meet the exigences of a period replete with difficulty and danger. In the middle of September, the French forces, amounting to more than 90,000 men under arms, exclusive of the troops in Catalonia, were posted under marshals Bessières, Ney, and Moncey; generals Saligny, Dorsenne, Monthion, La Grange, and Drouet; on a line extending from Bilboa to Alfaro: to oppose them, the Spanish troops were divided into three principal masses, called the armies of the right, centre, and left, under the respective commands of Palafox, Castaños, and Blake; but in positions which left the advantage greatly to their opponents. All were acting without concert, on double lines of operation, and against an enemy far superior to them in numbers and discipline, as well as in the art of war. Napoleon had returned on the fifth of September to Paris, where he reviewed the legions which he had recalled from Prussia and Poland; consisting, not of French alone, but of men of all countries and languages, of all religions and none, united together in one disciplined band, for the purpose of ravaging the peninsula, and subjecting it to the control of their tyrannical master. In his address to them, he observed, that 'the hideous presence of the British leopards contaminated the land of Spain and Portugal; and that a true Frenchman could never enjoy rest till the sea was open and free.' While this army was on its march, and preparations made for calling out the conscriptions of two years to augment its ranks, Buonaparte set out to meet the emperor Alexander and the dependent German princes at Erfurth. It did not escape his penetration that Austria lay like a hunted lion indignant in the toils; and was ready, as soon as she had renewed her strength, to burst them, and attack her enemy. She had not only increased her regular force, but was diligently arming her *landwehr*; on which account he had reproached prince Metternich, at a public levee in August: but tidings of the Spanish resistance, and the British success in Portugal, gave confidence and resolution to the court of Vienna. Napoleon therefore determined at once to menace the Austrian emperor, by arranging the co-operation of Russia and of the confederated states of the Rhine

against him, if he should attempt to take advantage of the Spanish war. One of the consequences of this meeting was a proposal for peace to Great Britain: the overture was made in the usual diplomatic forms; but was accompanied by a joint letter from the emperors of France and Russia to his Britannic majesty. This document was answered officially by Mr. Canning in a manner consistent with the honor and feelings of the British nation: however desirous both the government and the people might be to put an end to the miseries of war, they were prepared to endure any extremity before they sacrificed the interests of their allies, by negotiating a separate peace, and leaving Sicily and Sweden, Spain and Portugal, to the tender mercies of the Corsican. On his return to Paris, Napoleon assured the legislative body that the emperor of Russia and himself were determined to make great sacrifices, in order to procure for the hundred millions of men whom they represented, an early enjoyment of the commerce of the seas; and he announced his resolution to depart in a few days to put himself at the head of his armies, in order to crown the king of Spain at Madrid, and to plant his eagles on the fort of Lisbon. Blake, after a slight temporary success, had failed again in raising the province of Biscay; but the other armies were put in motion; and while all things announced the approach of a great crisis, such was the apathy of the supreme junta, that the best friends of the Spanish cause looked forward to a defeat as the only means of exciting national energy. Marshal Ney was soon able to retake Bilboa, from which the French had retired before Blake: the Spanish armies of the right and centre then advanced towards the Ebro; and after various evolutions, Blake again attacked and carried Bilboa. After this, the head of the grand French army arrived in Spain; the Castilians joined the Spanish army of the centre; the Asturians united with Blake; and a plan of operations singularly absurd was arranged by Castaños and Palafox: in consequence of this, the Spaniards crossed the Ebro, and the French prepared for a general attack. Skirmishes took place at Sanguessa, Logroño, and Lerim; the Spaniards were driven back over the Ebro, and Logroño was taken; while colonel Cruz, with a Spanish battalion, surrendered at Lerim. Internal dissensions and violent quarrels between the commanders succeeded to external misfortunes: Castaños, incensed at the ill conduct of the Castilians, dismissed general Pignatelli, and incorporated his troops with the Andalusian divisions; while Palafox arrogantly censured Castaños, against whom a cabal

was formed in the supreme junta : his enemies actively spread reports to his disadvantage : deserters, scattered over the country, declared that all the generals were traitors alike ; and the people, deceived by the central junta, and even by false rumors, respected neither justice nor government ; but committed the most scandalous excesses, and perpetrated the basest crimes.¹⁷

In the mean time, the road from Bayonne to Vittoria was covered with the advancing columns of the great French army ; which, as they arrived, were incorporated with the forces then in Spain : they thus formed eight divisions, or *corps d'armée* ; each being provided with light cavalry, artillery, and all other necessaries, enabling it to take the field as an independent force ; but the imperial guards and heavy cavalry were separately arranged. These corps were respectively placed under the command of marshals Victor, Bessières, Moncey, Lefèvre, Mortier, Ney, general St. Cyr, and Junot : the seventh corps, under St. Cyr, was destined to act in Catalonia ; the rest were, in the latter end of October, assembled or assembling in Navarre and Biscay. As the emperor's orders confined the French army to a rigorous system of defence, in order to encourage the presumption of the Spanish generals, Blake mistook this apparent inactivity for timidity, and with great rashness resolved to press forward : after a series of operations, during which, as colonel Napier observes, he omitted no error that circumstances rendered it possible to commit, and after several unfortunate actions at Durango, Zornosa, and Valmaceda, and the ultimate loss of Bilbao, his eyes were opened to the peril of his situation ; and he retired to the mountainous region of Espinosa : he was joined in his retreat by the wreck of Romana's troops ; the whole being concentrated in a strong position, covering the intersection of the roads from St. Ander, Villarcayo, and Reynosa.

Buonaparte, accompanied by the dukes of Dalmatia and Montebello, arrived at Bayonne on the third of November ; and having quitted it on the eighth, reached Vittoria the same evening : there he instantly arranged the plan of his campaign, and put in motion the enormous masses of his army with a celerity that marked his genius. Soult took the command of the second corps ; and with a vigor emulating that of his imperial master, totally overthrew the Spanish army under the conde de Belvedere at Gamonal, and the united forces of Blake and Romana at Espinosa ; laying the north of Spain prostrate,

¹⁷ Napier, vol. i. p. 369.

and securing the whole coast from St. Sebastian to the frontier of the Asturias ; while, by a judicious disposal of small garrisons and moveable columns, the communication of the army with France was kept open. The emperor's head quarters were now at Burgos ; whence he let loose 8000 cavalry over Leon and Castile, who raised contributions almost up to the gates of Salamanca. Changing his front of battle, he directed marshals Lasnes and Ney to fall on the forces under Castaños and Palafox : the former wished to retreat ; but being overruled by the headstrong and presumptuous Palafox, he awaited the onset, and was utterly defeated at Tudela, 15,000 of the disconcerted Spaniards escaping to Saragossa ; while the rest retreated with Castaños towards Madrid, leaving all their artillery, ammunition, and stores in the hands of the French. This success however fell far short of what Napoleon had a right to expect from his previous dispositions ; and he expressed considerable dissatisfaction with Ney, to whose erroneous directions and dilatory movements Castaños owed the safety of his troops, which were reassembled at Calatayud. He now ordered Lasnes to proceed against Palafox at Saragossa, while his own attention was fixed on Madrid, the great rallying point of his discomfited opponents. Having forced the passes of the Somosierra, where a few squadrons of Polish cavalry, as if in very derision of the Spaniards, attacked and carried the batteries, though defended by 12,000 troops, and in a situation nearly impregnable ; the imperial army descended on the other side of the mountains : the central junta fled from Aranjuez to Seville ; and the remnant of Castaños's army turned towards Alcazar del Rey, where he resigned his command to La Peña, against whom soon afterwards the troops mutinied, and the duke del Infantado took his place. For eight days, tumult and disorders of every description reigned in Madrid ; and on the second of December the French were before its walls : the central junta, whose criminal apathy deprived the city of all external defence, had been anxious that its wretched population should endure the horrors of an assault : but Napoleon avoided the folly of committing his troops with an infuriated mob, intrenched in strong houses : he accordingly took possession of the suburbs ; bombarded the Retiro ; and having established himself in a position commanding the city, reduced it to a capitulation on the fourth.

After some acts of retribution, and decrees to conciliate the liberal Spaniards, such as the abolition of the inquisition and the suppression of many convents, Napoleon projected a vast

plan of future operations. His intention was to invade Galicia, Andalusia, and Valencia by his lieutenants; and to lead the sixth corps, with the imperial guards and the reserve, against Lisbon in person. The first corps was stationed at Toledo, though its light cavalry scoured the country up to the Sierra Morena; the fourth was at Talavera, on its march towards Portugal; the second on the Carrion, ready to penetrate into Galicia; the eighth was broken up, its divisions joining the second, and Junot taking the place of marshal Moncey, who was called to Madrid for a special service: the fifth corps was ordered to advance from Vittoria to reinforce the third, then employed against Saragossa; and the seventh was constantly in Catalonia.¹⁸

To oppose this immense force and these grand combinations, what numbers or discipline remained in the Spanish armies? what ability in their leaders? what enthusiasm in the people? The duke del Infantado presided over a few thousands of miserable and mutinous fugitives at Cuenca; the Valencian army was shut up in Saragossa; the passes of the Sierra Morena were occupied by about 5000 raw levies sent thither by the junta at Seville. Galluzzo, who undertook to defend the Tagus with a wretched corps, had been suddenly attacked and defeated at Almaraz by a detachment of the fourth corps. Romana was at Leon, at the head of about 18,000 fugitives collected after the defeat at Espinosa; of whom only 5000 were armed. In Galicia there was no army: in the Asturias the spirit of the province was crushed by a miserable junta; while the central government, which ought to have directed its efforts to remove the evils which oppressed the country, and to concentrate its force, was still actuated by the same selfish and ambitious views which had hitherto distinguished that body. Napoleon in the mean time was in possession of the capital, the chief fortresses, and all the lines of communication between the provinces; no check being interposed to his progress, except the heroic city of Saragossa on the one side, and a comparatively small British army on the other. To the operations of that army we must now direct our attention.

Sir John Moore assumed the command, and carried it on, under circumstances calculated to depress the spirit of any man, who had not large resources in a character that might defy malice, and abilities capable of contending with adverse fortune. He had embarked for Portugal with the insults offered

¹⁸ Napier, vol. i. p. 414.

to him by lord Castlereagh ringing in his ears ;¹⁹ and when, in consequence of the convention of Cintra, the conduct of the war in that country was committed to him, the projects of the British cabinet were as vague as their knowledge of Spanish transactions and French resources was imperfect and delusive. It was the sixth of October, before a despatch, containing the first determinate plan of a campaign, declared that 30,000 infantry and 5000 cavalry were to be employed in the north of Spain ; 10,000 of which were to be sent thither by sea from England ; and Sir John Moore might join them by a voyage round the coast, or a march through the country : strong objections existing against the former plan, he was obliged to determine on the latter ; and thus the dangerous necessity was imposed on him of acting on a double line of operations, with two corps, that could not be expected to unite, but in the neighborhood of an active enemy, and at a long distance from their bases.

The head of the great French host coming from Germany was already in the passes of the Pyrenees, when Sir John Moore was beginning to organise an army of new soldiers, in a poor unsettled country ; with a military chest nearly empty ; without the power of obtaining money on bills ; and without any chance of correct information, though pestered with false intelligence from all quarters. No commander-in-chief had been appointed to the Spanish armies ; but after a march of 300 miles in the rainy season for the purpose of uniting his scattered forces, and another equally long to the banks of the Ebro, he was expected to concert a plan of operations with generals acting independently of each other, themselves ignorant, jealous, and quarrelsome ; and their troops undisciplined and insubordinate : besides, all this was to be accomplished in time to defeat an enemy already in the field, master of prodigious resources, and accustomed to the most rapid movements, as well as to the grandest combinations. The duke of York, fully aware of the difficulties of Sir John Moore's situation, and the inefficiency of the means placed at his disposal, sent a memorial to the British ministers, recommending the employment of 60,000 men in this service, and showing the practicability of procuring them : but his advice was neglected.

In spite of all difficulties, not the least of which was a failure in the contract for supplies, the British general so strenuously exerted himself, that within twenty days after his

¹⁹ Napier, vol. i. p. 505.

appointment, the whole army was in motion ; and the staff quitted Lisbon on the twenty-sixth of October. Magazines having been established at Almeida, the army marched in three columns ; the first by Alcantara and Coria, the second by Abrantes, the third by Coimbra ; all having Ciudad Rodrigo as a point of direction : information however being received respecting the miserable state of the roads, it was thought necessary to separate the artillery from the rest of the army : accordingly, the grand *parc*, escorted by 1000 troopers and 3000 infantry, was sent, under Sir John Hope, by the road of Talavera. Sir David Baird arrived at Coruña on the thirteenth of October ; and, to his great astonishment, the junta of Galicia, disliking the trouble of a disembarkation at that port, refused him permission to land his troops ; and when their tardy acquiescence was at length obtained, through an application to the supreme junta at Aranjuez, his reception was cold and dispiriting in the extreme. Sir David came without money ; and Sir John Moore was obliged to supply him with £8000 from his own scanty store, to enable him to put his division in motion : yet at this time, Mr. Frere, the new plenipotentiary, who came in the same fleet, had 2,000,000 of dollars to lavish on the infamous juntas of Spain.

On the eighth of November, the British general was at Almeida, his artillery at Truxillo in Estremadura, and Sir David Baird's division at Coruña ; while Blake was on that very day routed and flying before his enemies towards Espinosa : the conde de Belvedere was at Burgos with 13,000 miserable troops, and Napoleon at Vittoria with 170,000 of the best soldiers of France. At this time letters from lord William Bentinck and colonel Graham, exposing all the imprudence of the Spanish generals, created much uneasiness in Sir John Moore's mind, who foresaw the obstacles that might occur to the junction of his own troops from the imprudence and ill success of the Spaniards : but, as no great misfortune had yet been experienced, he determined to advance, and arrived at Ciudad Rodrigo on the eleventh, the very day on which the fatal battle of Espinosa took place : on the thirteenth, the van of the British army entered Salamanca, at the moment when Blake's fugitive troops were finally dispersed at Reynosa, leaving the first, second, and fourth French corps, amounting to 70,000 men, free to act in any quarter. Sir John soon discovered that, to the obstacles arising from rashness and cowardice in the Spanish armies, a want of enthusiasm in the

people was now to be added ; for the defeat of the conde de Belvedere, which laid Castile open to the enemy's incursions, while it uncovered the march of the British and compromised their safety, excited no sensation of alarm, precaution, or defence : nor was he even informed of the event till a week after it took place ; though Valladolid, which was only distant three marches, was occupied by the French cavalry. From insuperable delays, it was the twenty-third of November, before the British centre, consisting of 12,000 infantry and six guns, was concentrated at Salamanca ; on which day the total defeat of Castaños and Palafox at Tudela left the third and sixth corps of the French army disposable ; while Napoleon, from his central position at Burgos, was free to move either on Madrid or Salamanca, his victorious troops being already in possession of Valladolid ; the very town, which, a few days before, the Spanish government had pointed out to Sir John Moore as the base of his operations, and where his magazines might conveniently be formed.

On the twenty-sixth, the head of Sir David Baird's column was at Astorga, its rear extending beyond Lugo ; while Sir John Hope was at the Escorial, with his rear at Talavera : but the second French corps was on the Deva, threatening Leon and the Asturias, while their cavalry covered all the plains : the fourth corps was descending by Carrion and Valladolid to seize the pass of the Guadarama, and the emperor was preparing to force the Somosierra, and attack Madrid.

Sir John Moore was now placed in a situation of extreme difficulty : his instructions merely directed him to advance, for the purpose of opening communications with the Spanish generals, and forming 'the plan of a campaign : ' but the campaign had been already decided against the Spaniards ; no channels of intelligence had been pointed out to him ; and he could not establish any for want of money. In obedience of the expressed wishes of the British people and the orders of government, he had pushed forwards to assist our allies, without magazines, or means of forming them : trusting to the official assurance of the minister, that above 100,000 Spanish soldiers would protect his march, and that the enthusiasm of the people prepared them for any exertions, he found nothing among them but apathy and discord, presumption and deceit.

At this time twenty days were required to bring up and concentrate all the forces : to advance in their divided state would have been to court destruction ; and to retreat, while the Spanish army of the centre still kept the field, was repug-

nant to the generous and intrepid spirit of the British general. Rather than resort to such a remedy for the false position in which his own and the Spanish government had placed him, he contemplated a bold and daring enterprise;—to abandon all his communications with Portugal, throw himself into the heart of Spain, rally the army of Castaños, and with their combined forces defend the southern provinces, trusting to the effect which such a measure might produce on Spanish patriotism and courage. Respecting this important operation, which was not purely a military question, he determined to consult Mr. Frere, who had superseded Mr. Stuart at Madrid, and with whom he had been directed to communicate on all important points: while waiting for his reply, he directed Sir David Baird to push his troops forward to Salamanca; but on the very day after he had thus written to the British envoy, and all arrangements for executing his project were complete, a despatch from Mr. Stuart made him acquainted with the disaster at Tudela: all hope of success then vanished; Spanish armies that did not exist could not be rallied; and if Madrid should fall, nothing would exist to check the advance of the whole French force against the British. The most practicable scheme now left seemed to be a retreat into Portugal: this was determined on, and fully approved by Sir David Baird, who had also experienced the fallacy of Spanish promises and information: but in the mean time Napoleon forced the Somosierra, and summoned Madrid; while the supreme junta, with the English envoy, fled toward Badajos: Sir John Hope's division, with the artillery, was greatly endangered by the advance of the fourth corps; and it was necessary for the commander in chief to wait for his approach.

Sir John Moore's resolution created a great sensation at Madrid and Aranjuez: the junta deprecated such a proof of the state to which they had reduced their country; the cowardly traitor, Morla, with others of the same stamp, was prepared to abandon its cause; and the English plenipotentiary, being deceived himself, became indignant that the general should decide on so important a movement without reference to his opinion: all therefore concurred in misleading him with false or imperfect intelligence. In consequence of their urgent importunities, and Hope's corps having fortunately joined the army, he directed Sir David Baird, who had fallen back as far as Villa Franca, to concentrate his troops at Astorga, while he himself prepared to advance.

His plan of operations was generous and bold. Supposing

that the emperor was more anxious to strike a blow against the British forces than occupy any Spanish province or city, he resolved to throw himself on the communications of the French army; hoping, if fortune should be favorable, that he might inflict a severe loss on the troops by which they were guarded before aid could arrive. If Napoleon, suspending his operations against the south, should send large detachments against him, Madrid would be succored; if not, the British troops could hold their ground. The former supposition appeared more than probable: and thus, to relieve the Spaniards, and give them breathing time, Moore, confiding in his own abilities and the courage of his troops, determined to measure swords even with Buonaparte.

On the ninth of December, colonel Graham, who had been sent forward toward the capital, returned with tidings of its surrender; but he also brought intelligence from two members of the flying junta, that large armies, under La Peña, Romana, and others, were still ready to co-operate strenuously with the British, and that the most energetic measures were in activity wherever the enemy's presence did not prevent them. Under such circumstances, Sir John Moore did not stop his movement, which he still hoped might act as a diversion for the south of Spain: on the eleventh therefore he advanced, having however continued preparations for a retreat on Portugal, by the establishment of magazines at Benevente, Astorga, Villa Franca, and Lugo. On the thirteenth, headquarters were at Alaejos, general Sir Charles Stewart's²⁰ cavalry having the night before surprised a French post of fifty infantry and thirty dragoons. From these prisoners, as well as from an intercepted despatch, it was learned that Madrid was perfectly tranquil under its new conquerors, and that the French army believed the English to be on their retreat to Portugal: there appeared therefore a chance of surprising and beating the second corps, inferior as it was in numbers, and scattered in several divisions along the Carrion. Sir John calculated, that this danger, threatening Soult, would necessarily draw the emperor from Madrid; save the south; and give breathing time to the beaten corps of Galluzzo and Romana: he had also good reason to hope, from the ignorance of his movements, in which both Napoleon and Soult remained, that he might gain these advantages, and still give the latter a heavy blow: the em-

²⁰ The present marquis of Londonderry.

peror however procured correct information in time to save his lieutenant ; but the other objects were obtained.

On the eighteenth, head quarters were at Castro Nuevo ; from which place Sir John Moore wrote to Romana, informing him of his intention to fall on Soult ; desiring his co-operation ; and requesting that the marquis would, according to his own plan, reserve the Asturias for his line of communication, and leave Galicia open to the British : but Romana was a man totally unfit for command, and worthy of very little more confidence than the other Spanish generals. At this time, the British effective force of all arms rather exceeded 23,500 men, with sixty pieces of artillery ; while Soult had not more than 11,000 infantry, with 1200 cavalry, unless he uncovered the important post of St. Andero : so that when the English, after a brilliant affair of cavalry under lord Paget, occupied Sabagun on the twenty-first, the French marshal abandoned Saldaña to concentrate his forces at Carrion.

On the twenty-third, Romana gave notice that the French were in motion on the side of Madrid ; and in the same night, as the troops were on their march towards Carrion, reports came in that the whole French army was in motion to overwhelm them : the fourth corps had been halted at Talavera ; the fifth at Vittoria ; the eighth was closing up to reinforce the second ; and the emperor himself was marching toward the Guadarama : hearing of Sir John Moore's advance, he forgot the siege of Saragossa, the south of Spain, and the rock of Lisbon, on which he was hastening to plant his eagles : the different corps were all arrested in their movements ; 10,000 men alone were left to awe the capital ; and on the evening of the twenty-second, 50,000 were at the foot of the Guadarama mountains. Under storms of hail and drifting snow, Napoleon led them in person through the passes of the Sierra, which had been reported as impracticable : on the twenty-sixth, he was at Tordesillas with the imperial guard ; while Ney, with the sixth corps, was at Rio Seco ; and the dragoons of La Houssaye at Valladolid. ' If the English pass to-day in their position ; ' so wrote this great master of war to marshal Soult ; ' they are lost : if they attack you with all their force, retire one day's march : the farther they proceed, the better for us. If they retreat, pursue them closely.' Full of hope, he then hastened to Valderas : but notwithstanding his rapid march, he was twelve hours too late : the British had crossed the Esla ; and Soult was in full pursuit when the emperor's letter was

written : thus Sir John Moore had drawn the eagle from his prey, and his own army from destruction.

After some sharp skirmishing, and another brilliant action between the tenth hussars and a strong body of Ney's cavalry, in which the latter lost twenty killed, and 100 prisoners, the army arrived at Benevente : that station however was not long tenable ; and Sir John Moore determined to proceed by way of Leon to Astorga. When the British quitted the town, the cavalry remained behind, leaving parties to watch the fords of the Esla ; on which, general Lefèvre Desnouettes, seeing only a few outposts on the plain, concluded they had nothing to support them, and crossed the river at a ford, with 600 horsemen of the imperial guard, to attack the piquets : these however being joined by a part of the third German hussars, and headed by the gallant general, C. Stewart, bravely disputed the ground, till lord Paget came up with the tenth hussars, and charged the assailants : in an instant they were seen flying at full speed toward the river ; into which, without breaking their ranks, they plunged, and gained the opposite heights : their unfortunate leader separated himself from the main body ; and, making towards a different part of the stream, was pursued ; but refusing to stop when overtaken, he was wounded, and brought in prisoner : in this skirmish, the British lost fifty men : the French left fifty-five on the plain, beside seventy wounded among those that repassed the Esla. In the mean time, Romana, abandoning Leon without firing a shot, occupied Astorga with his ragged fugitives, contrary to promise ; and when the British divisions marched into that city, such tumult and confusion arose, that no orders could be regularly executed, and no destruction of stores effected ; but a great disorganisation of the army took place in consequence.

On the thirty-first, the flank brigades were detached from the army at Bonillas, and sent in the direction of Orense and Vigo, to lessen the pressure on the commissariat ; while Romana, after doing so much mischief by crossing the British line of march, left his infantry to wander over the country as they pleased, and retired with his cavalry and a few guns to the valley of the Minho. On the first of January, 1809, Napoleon took possession of Astorga, where 70,000 French infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and 200 pieces of artillery were united ; fully attesting the genius of the British commander, who had thus drawn the flower of the conqueror's army to these remote and desolate regions, and rendered its astonishing

efforts useless by the order and rapidity of his retreat. Being recalled to Paris by a storm ready to burst over Germany, Napoleon committed the task of pursuing the foe to the duke of Dalmatia ; with whom he left near 60,000 men, with ninety pieces of artillery ; allotting separate provinces to the different *corps d'armée*, and directing the imperial guard to return to France.

With 19,000 British troops, in a strong country, their commander might have given battle with every prospect of success against superior numbers ; but to fight an enemy, who had at this time such an immense advantage, would have been a display of courage worse than useless : Sir John Moore therefore determined to continue the retreat as expeditiously as possible to Villa Franca.

Both there, as well as at Bembibre and Calcabellos, the most dreadful excesses were committed by the troops, who broke open wine vaults, plundered magazines and private houses, and showed a great relaxation of discipline. The army had expected to fight : they could not enter into the political views which moved their commander, in his advance and in his retreat ; and naturally felt indignant at turning their backs on the foe : many of the principal officers also had assumed a strange license ; and their example increased the excesses of military insubordination. The French cavalry took advantage of this state of things to attack the stragglers, many of whom were cut off, while others rejoined their ranks dreadfully mutilated, and bleeding from the sabres of the enemy : some of these latter were paraded, by way of example, before the army ; ‘and never,’ says lord Londonderry, in his interesting Narrative of the War, ‘did British troops look on a spectacle more appalling.’

The situation of the British army was at this time dispiriting in the extreme. In the midst of winter, in a dreary and desolate country, the soldiers, chilled and drenched by deluges of rain, and wearied by long and rapid marches, were almost destitute of fuel to cook their victuals ; and it was with extreme difficulty that they procured shelter : their provisions were scanty, irregular, and difficult of attainment ; the waggons, in which were their magazines, baggage, and stores, were deserted in the night by the Spanish drivers, terrified by the approach of the French. Thus baggage, ammunition, and stores were frequently destroyed or deserted ; and at Nogales the rear guard was so harassed by continual skirmishes, that it became necessary to abandon the military chest : the sum

of £25,000 in Spanish dollars had been kept near headquarters to answer sudden emergencies; and these were now rolled down the precipitous side of a mountain, whence part of it was gathered by the enemy, and part by the Gallician peasants. In the midst of these distresses, the Spaniards offered no assistance, and showed no sympathy; on the contrary, they fled at the approach of the English, carrying with them every thing that could alleviate their distress, or contribute to their preservation. In such calamitous circumstances, nothing could have saved the army from destruction but the admirable conduct of the rear guard; and it is curious to remark, that, notwithstanding they were in constant action, they lost but few men, and not a single gun: three times they checked the advance of the enemy, were never broken, and suffered no misfortune: such are the advantages of discipline and subordination!

As the road from Villa Franca to Lugo led through a rugged country, the cavalry had been sent on at once to the latter town. At Herrerias, on the fourth of January, Sir John Moore received the first reports of the engineers, whom he had sent to inspect the harbors; and as it appeared that Vigo was not only at a farther distance, but offered no position to cover the embarkation, he determined to direct his march on Coruña; to which place the transports were ordered round from Vigo: in the mean time, as the enemy was pressing him very closely, he sent orders to the leading division to halt at Lugo; his intention being to rally the troops, restore discipline, and offer battle to his pursuers. The whole army being assembled there on the sixth, Sir John Moore, in a general order, issued a severe but just rebuke to the officers and soldiers for their previous neglect of discipline, and announced his intention to fight the enemy: this quickly restored vigor and confidence to his troops, 19,000 of whom were still under arms when the French appeared in sight. Soult however was too experienced a soldier to be tempted to engage at the desire of his antagonist; especially amidst rugged mountains, where he could scarcely hope to cripple his foe: accordingly, both armies remained in position. On the seventh indeed, a partial action took place, in which the French lost between three and four hundred men; and Soult sent orders to Laborde and Ney to hasten the march of their divisions: the latter however did not execute his order with precision: on the eighth not a shot was fired; and Soult deferred his attack till the ninth; but Sir John, not judging it prudent to act offensively, or to delay the

retreat, quitted his ground in the night of the ninth, leaving his fires burning.

At ten o'clock, the regiments silently quitted their ground, and retired in excellent order; but a dreadful storm of wind and rain suddenly rising, they lost sight of the marks set up for their guidance, and wandered among the intricate lanes, and stone walls, with which the country is intersected: great disorganisation thence ensued; and stragglers in such numbers diverged in search of plunder, that when pressed, they united under serjeant Newman of the forty-third regiment, and actually repulsed the French cavalry: but the loss of men in the march from Lugo to Betanzos more than doubled that which had occurred in all the former part of the retreat. On the eleventh, the advanced guard beheld the walls of Coruña and the sea, with sensations similar to those which animated the 10,000 Greeks in their retreat from Persia: the eyes of their commander however looked in vain for the fleet, which was detained by contrary winds at Vigo: the men therefore were put into quarters; and from the twelfth to the sixteenth, Sir John was occupied in strengthening his position, and embarking his sick, wounded, and artillery on board the transports, which arrived on the fourteenth: twelve guns only were retained for the action that was expected; and most of the horses, being foundered, were shot, in order to prevent them falling into the hands of the enemy.

The French occupied a high ridge, enclosing, as it were, and wholly commanding the British position: Laborde's division was posted on the right; Merle's was in the centre; and Mermet's formed the left, where Soult had raised a formidable battery of eleven heavy guns on the rocks: the distance of this from the British right, under Sir D. Baird, was about 1200 yards: midway, the little village of Elvina was held by the piquets of the fiftieth regiment; while the other dispositions of the British line were dictated by the nature of the ground, which was highly favorable to the enemy, who brought 20,000 men against 14,500 of their opponents.

About two o'clock in the afternoon of the sixteenth, a general movement along the French line gave indication of an immediate attack: no idle display of evolutions was made by Soult; but, distributing his field-pieces along the front of his position, he opened a tremendous fire from his heavy battery on the left, and descended the heights with three columns, covered by a cloud of skirmishers. The English piquets were instantly driven in: the village of Elvina was carried by the first column;

which, dividing, attempted to turn Baird's right, and break his front at the same time: the second column advanced against the centre; and the third attacked Sir John Hope's left at the village of Palavia Abaxo.

Sir John Moore, observing that the enemy showed no body of infantry beyond that which outflanked Baird's right, ordered general Paget to carry up the reserve, supported by general Fraser, turn the left of the French, and menace the great battery: he then threw back the fourth regiment, which formed the right of Baird's division, and opened a heavy fire on the flank of the French troops advancing on that side; while the fiftieth and forty-second regiments met those breaking through Elvina, and drove them back beyond it. A battalion of the guards was ordered up to fill the void made in the line by these regiments; but the forty-second, mistaking the intentions of the commander-in-chief, at this moment retired: the French being reinforced, the struggle for the village was renewed, and the forty-second gallantly returned to the charge. In the mean time, Sir Edward Paget had vigorously checked the enemy's advance, when the centre and left became engaged: a furious action ensued along the line; Sir D. Baird was severely wounded; and Sir John Moore, watching the result of the contest in Elvina, was struck from his horse by a cannon ball: his shoulder was dreadfully shattered; but he recovered himself, and sat upright, earnestly viewing the struggle going on: and he had the satisfaction to know that his troops were successful before he was carried off the field.

The British army now rapidly gained ground: the reserve, overthrowing every thing in the valley, was menacing the great battery; on the left, the village of Palavia Abaxo was carried by some companies of the fourteenth regiment under colonel Nicholls; in the centre, where Elvina was retaken, victory declared for the British; and at night the French retired in disorder to their stronger ground, leaving their opponents masters of the field. In consequence of Sir John Moore's death, and Sir David Baird's wound, the command devolved on Sir John Hope, who determined to pursue the original plan of embarkation during the night, which was carried into effect with complete success.

When morning dawned, the French pushed forward some battalions to the heights of St. Lucia, and about noon succeeded in planting a battery there, from which they considerably annoyed the shipping: the masters of several transports were so alarmed, that they cut their cables, and four of the

vessels ran aground ; but the troops were speedily removed by the men of war's boats ; the stranded ships were burnt ; and the whole fleet got safely out of harbor. General Hill's brigade then embarked at the citadel ; while general Beresford, with a rear guard, kept possession of that fortress till the eighteenth ; when, the wounded being all on board, his troops likewise embarked ; and the whole set sail for England. The French in this battle lost 2000 men ; the English scarcely 1000 : this, added to their casualties during the previous retreat, brought their total loss to less than 5000 men ; for which they had obtained the only advantage that could have been contemplated by any rational observer of Spanish affairs. The body of their magnanimous chief, who had thus frustrated the mighty combinations of Napoleon, and defeated his best general, was interred by the officers of his own staff in the citadel of Coruña, where marshal Soult, with due respect for kindred valor, raised a monument to his memory. His last words were, that 'he hoped his country would do him justice.' That justice has at length been done, both by generous friends¹ and noble foes ; notwithstanding all the efforts of a party, who would have sacrificed his fair fame, for the purpose of screening the incapacity of those, to whom he fell a victim.

¹ The defence of his campaign by colonel Napier, whose account has been generally followed in the above details, is quite irresistible.

CHAP. L.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1809.

State of connexion between Great Britain and Spain—King's speech—Addresses, &c.—Debates on the Spanish campaign—Disposition of the ministers and people respecting the war—Militia bill—Soldiers and seamen voted—Charges against the duke of York—Discovery of abuses in East India appointments, places under government, seats in parliament, &c.—Lord Castlereagh's conduct—Mr. Curwen's bill—Charge made by Mr. Madocks against the treasury respecting seats in parliament; by colonel Wardle against the general expenditure of the country—Sir Francis Burdett's motion and plan for parliamentary reform—Supplies—Disclosures respecting the Dutch commissioners—Cause of Spain; revives by the Austrian war—Disposition of the French armies, &c.—Evil disposition of the Spanish government—Siege and fall of Saragossa—Affairs of Portugal under Sir John Cradock, to the arrival of Sir A. Wellesley—The latter lands at Lisbon—His deliberations and plans—Campaign in the north of Portugal, to the expulsion of Soult—Operations of Soult and Ney—Sir A. Wellesley's difficulties, &c.—Those of Victor, and his operations—Soult's movements, &c.—State of the British, French, and Spanish forces—Sir A. Wellesley's advance into Spain—March along the valley of the Tagus—Bad conduct of Cuesta, and the Spanish government, &c.—Operations of Victor—Treachery of the supreme junta—Battle of Talavera—Subsequent operations to the cantonment of the British troops about Badajoz—Ulterior military and political proceedings in Spain to the time when Sir A. Wellesley retired into Portugal—Napoleon's entry into Vienna—His decree against Rome—Is excommunicated by Pius VII.—Battle of Wagram, and peace of Vienna—State of Europe—British expeditions against Naples and Walcheren—Duel between lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning—Changes in the ministry—National jubilee—Affairs of the princess of Wales—Domestic incidents, &c.—British relations with America.

THE cause of Spain was so intimately connected with the interest of Great Britain, that the discouraging aspect of affairs

in the peninsula did not for a moment tempt ministers to desist from the contest: they trusted to the resources of the two countries, to the vigor of the British arm, and to an increase of zeal among the patriots: so that in the speech delivered to parliament in the king's name, it was declared, that his majesty had renewed, amidst the difficulties and misfortunes of the Spaniards, those engagements which he had voluntarily contracted at the beginning of their struggle.

The addresses were voted without a division; but several members declared their opinion, that the conduct of ministers showed their utter incapacity to discharge the duties required of them: a motion of censure however by lord Henry Petty, for that misconduct and neglect which had been mainly instrumental to the convention of Cintra, was made without effect. The Spanish campaign was not passed over without strong animadversion: Mr. Ponsonby, taking an ample review of the principal incidents connected with it, drew from them a conclusion very unfavorable to the capacity and judgment of the cabinet; though he failed in his motion for an investigation of their conduct. 'With so many opportunities and resources at command, they had instituted no proper inquiry into the state of the peninsula, the bent of the public mind, the inclinations of the higher ranks, the views of the middle classes, and the probability that effective resistance would be made to a vigorous and mighty foe: extraordinary indecision and unnecessary delays had injured the cause which the king pretended to support: several Spanish armies were routed before the British troops were prepared to act; and when they became engaged in the contest, they were in danger of total ruin.' Messrs. Tierney and Windham also severely satirised the ignorance and errors of ministers, whom they pronounced incapable of conducting the new contest with wisdom and effect. In resisting the motion for inquiry, lord Castlereagh descended to the miserable arts of a parliamentary tactician, by ridiculing the inconsistency of the mover, who at one and the same moment, recommended celerity, and advised deliberation; who blamed a slowness of action, yet vindicated a retreat from the contest. Mr. Canning, on the contrary, when the subject was afterwards brought before the house by lord Temple, candidly acknowledged the difficulties under which ministers labored, from their total ignorance of the Spanish territories; fairly admitting that 'respecting the situation of Spain they had every thing to learn.' Their deficiency in knowledge however was soon supplied, and their arms were remedied, by the genius of one man,

who may be numbered among those signal instruments raised up by Providence to support and direct a nation, when the very frame-work of its constitution is dissolved. Due credit however must be given to the British government, for its determination to persevere and draw out the utmost resources of this country in opposing the oppressor of the continent: in fact, it was for the question of British or French supremacy that the contest was now carried on in the peninsula. The people themselves saw this; and notwithstanding partial disturbances and local insurrections, where distress pressed heavily on particular portions of the community; they cheerfully supported ministers throughout the war, uninfluenced by the clamor and predictions of a party in the state, who, from the very first failures in Spain, became determined prophets of ill; who pronounced, at the commencement of each campaign, that it must end in disaster; and when that closed in victory, anticipated ruin in the next.

As one of the means necessary to support the present contest, lord Castlereagh introduced a militia bill, the chief feature of which was the facility thereby offered to ministers, of increasing the disposable force of the country, by bounties granted to such as transferred their services to the regular army, as well as to those who filled up the vacancies left in the ranks which the others had quitted. The measure, notwithstanding a strong opposition, and an absurd outcry against the danger of so large a military force as was projected, ultimately passed.

Every motion of censure on the proceedings of the war having been lost, and the thanks of parliament presented to Sir A. Wellesley and general Ferguson for their gallant conduct at the battle of Vimiero, the commons voted 130,000 seamen, including 31,400 royal marines, for the present year; the number of men employed in the various services of the army being about 400,000.

On the twenty-seventh of January a very serious accusation was exhibited against the duke of York, who, as commander-in-chief, had obtained great and deserved credit for the many improvements which he had introduced into the organisation and discipline of the troops. His official regularity and easiness of access had rendered him generally popular with the officers; though some disappointed and discontented spirits were found, who charged him, through the instrumentality of the press, with permitting himself to be swayed by the most corrupt and profligate motives in the disposal of commissions.

His known state of embarrassment, and his moral aberrations, co-operated with these charges, in bringing his official character into suspicion ; until at length, public rumor, with its hundred tongues, proclaimed on all sides, that military patronage was made the subject of an infamous traffic with the paramours of the commander. A discarded mistress, named Mary Ann Clarke, to whom he had violated his promise of a paltry annuity, made disclosures that gave a color to the accusation ; and her confidant, a colonel of militia and member of parliament, at length brought the matter before the house of commons, where his *ex-parte* statement was so startling and circumstantial, that the friends of his royal highness could not resist a motion for inquiry, to be conducted by a committee of the whole house.

In the course of this investigation, which occupied public attention for seven weeks, the charges seemed to derive strength from numerous letters brought forward, which revealed secrets that may be regarded as curious monuments of the state of manners in high life at the commencement of the present century. That Mrs. Clarke took advantage of her connexion with the duke to establish an agency for the sale both of military and ecclesiastical preferment, there was complete evidence ; but the few instances in which any benefit was obtained by the dupes of this artful woman, rendered it very doubtful if the royal lover had any knowlege of her practices. Fascinated by her charms of person, but more especially by that vivacity of manner and sprightliness of wit which made a strong impression even on the house itself, he had yielded in a few instances to requests of which she knew how to take ample advantage ; but from every imputation on his honor, as participating in the shameful traffic, he was absolved by all sober and right-judging men, even when popular indignation was at its height. Several motions were made on the subject ; but that of colonel Wardle, for an address to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to remove the duke of York from the command of the army, on account of the corrupt practices which had been proved against him, was rejected by 364 votes against 123 : an amendment, however, moved by Mr. Bankes, acquitting his royal highness of personal corruption or criminal connivance, but expressing an opinion that abuses had been proved, which could scarcely have existed without exciting suspicion in the mind of the commander-in-chief, and suggesting the propriety of his

removal from office, was negatived by a majority of only ninety-five. It was afterwards decided, by a majority of 241, that as certain charges had been brought forward, a distinct opinion regarding them should be given; and a resolution proposed by Sir T. Turton, declaring that grounds for charging the duke with a knowledge of the corrupt practices of Mrs. Clarke rested on good evidence, was thrown out by 334 votes against 135: a less unequal division however took place on Mr. Perceval's proposition, declaratory of innocence; for which a majority of eighty-two votes only could be obtained.

This, in so numerous an assembly, did not satisfy the accused party; especially as the minority against him contained a large portion of independent members: he accordingly took the opportunity of resigning his official situation, after his innocence had been declared, and when it could not be said that he relinquished it from any apprehension respecting the result of the inquiry. The duke's retreat however did not allay the indignation of a party in the house, so far as to prevent another attempt to fix a stigma on his character; and Mr. Bathurst strongly urged a resolution, which he thought would have an impressive and admonitory effect; acknowledging the general merit and beneficial regulations of the late commander-in-chief, while regret was expressed for that unbecoming and immoral connexion, from which an interference detrimental to the service, as well as other disgraceful and criminal transactions, had resulted.

Lord Althorp, however, satisfied with the termination of the inquiry, exhorted the house to declare that it was not then necessary to proceed farther; meaning, that the investigation should be resumed in the event of the duke's re-appointment, which was easily foreseen by every one acquainted with court policy: Mr. Perceval supported this amendment, after all reference to time had been excluded; and it was carried by a majority of 123. General Sir David Dundas was appointed successor to his royal highness; and one of the early consequences of this inquiry to the country, was the enactment of a law, declaring the brokerage of offices in the army, church, or state, to be a crime highly penal. A threat of Mrs. Clarke to publish the remainder of the duke's letters in her possession, produced a negociation between herself and lord Moira, at the express instance of the prince of Wales; and these documents, which, like those already made public, were said to contain very imprudent disclosures regarding members of the royal family, were ultimately given up for a valuable consideration.

During the course of this investigation, the discovery of a systematic traffic in appointments under the East India company, and in subordinate places under government, led to a committee of inquiry into the abuse of East India patronage; when it was determined that a considerable number of writers and cadets, who had obtained their situations by corrupt practices, should be recalled from the different presidencies. At this period the whole system of government was rife with abuses; and any investigation of one department was almost sure to develop their existence in another: thus an opportunity now occurred of attacking lord Castlereagh, which was eagerly seized on: accordingly, lord Archibald Hamilton submitted a strong motion of censure on the noble secretary's conduct, for having, when president of the board of control, placed a writership in the hands of lord Clancarty, for the purpose of enabling him to exchange it for a seat in parliament: this discovery was made by the committee for inquiring into the abuse of East India patronage; and though the negociation did not succeed, owing to the unwillingness of the agent, who had undertaken to obtain the seat, to name his employer; yet lord Castlereagh, from his own examination, appeared to have entered on this disgraceful business, without hesitation or scruple, with a man whose profession was that of an advertising place-broker. A long debate ensued, in which Mr. Canning, who a few days before had opposed a motion for inquiry into abuses solely because they were not specified, now assisted this great delinquent to escape, by pleading a mere technicality in his favor: the job was not completed in fact, though as a negociation it was perfect: he admitted the evidence as sufficient to establish corrupt intention; but since it could not be said that the noble lord had conducted himself with contumacious contempt; since he had confessed his error with as much humility as was consistent with his own honor, and the dignity of the house; he trusted that, all the circumstances of the case being weighed, it might not be thought necessary to adopt any criminatory resolutions.

But though a majority of the house brought the noble secretary safe out of the perils of this crisis, recent exposures enabled Mr. Curwen to carry a bill for better securing the purity and independence of parliament, by preventing the obtaining of seats through corrupt practices, and also for the more effectual prevention of bribery: the speakers on all sides admitted the facts stated by the mover of the bill; and, with few exceptions, seemed to be convinced of the necessity of

such a measure : but in passing through the house, its most important provisions were sadly frittered away ; so that many friends of reform refused to vote for its passing into a law, lest it should injure the cause by obstructing the way towards efficient relief. While this bill was pending, Mr. Madocks brought forward a charge against the treasury, of corrupt conduct in the purchase of parliamentary seats, which were filled by members attached to the interest of ministers, and bound to support all their measures : the specific instance which he adduced, was that of Mr. Quentin Dick, who had purchased a seat for the borough of Cashel, through the agency of the honorable Henry Wellesley, acting in behalf of the treasury. It appeared, that on occasion of the charges recently brought forward against the duke of York, when Mr. Dick had determined to vote according to the dictates of his conscience, lord Castlereagh intimated to that gentleman the necessity of his voting with government, or resigning his seat ; and that Mr. Dick, sooner than act contrary to principle, made choice of the latter alternative, and vacated his seat accordingly. Mr. Madocks also alleged, that Mr. Perceval was privy to this transaction ; and he engaged to prove the charge by witnesses at the bar, if the house would permit him to call them : nothing however was farther from the intention of the house, at that time, than to grant such an inquiry. Mr. Canning expressly declared, that he opposed the honorable gentleman's motion, because it was acknowledged to be the first step toward parliamentary reform ; and against such encroachments of faction the house had now to make a determined stand. After violently impugning the motives of those who supported the charge, he observed ; 'it was the character and influence of that house which achieved all our blessings ; and out of it grew the vital principle which distinguished this from every country ; operating as the perennial source of good, unknown to other nations : was then the source from which such blessings flowed, to be stigmatised as a sink of corruption ; an object of alarm and disgust ?'

Mr. Hutchinson protested against the doctrines advanced by the last speaker, 'which posterity would undoubtedly reprobate, when it should hear that a house of commons was found so debased, as to acknowledge the existence of corruption in its formation, and justify its existence.' Here the speaker was interrupted by loud cries of 'Withdraw ! withdraw !' and a violent uproar ensued : when order was restored, the honorable member observed, 'it was at least consistent in gentlemen op-

posed to him, to drown, if possible, all discussion; convinced, as they must be, that such conduct as they had pursued this night, shrunk not only from inquiry and argument, but from the touchstone of common integrity.' Mr. Madocks made a brief reply, defending the consistency of his public life, and the purity of his motives: in the course of it, he observed, 'that a right honorable gentleman (Mr. Windham) had confessed, that corruption existed from the top to the bottom of the state: he felt sorry to agree with him on this point; but it did indeed so exist: its universality and ubiquity were frightful, and reminded him of Virgil's portraiture of Fame;—

Ingrediturque solo, et caput inter nubila condit.'

The question being loudly called for, the motion for a committee of inquiry was negatived by 310 votes against 85.

Colonel Wardle, not satisfied with exposing the errors of individuals in high station, commenced, on the nineteenth of June, a vehement attack on the extravagance exhibited in the expenditure of the country, which had been augmented since last year by the enormous sum of £7,400,000: but in taking a review of our military, civil, and colonial establishments, he did justice neither to himself nor to his cause, by the mode in which he brought forward his statements: these were taken up on cursory or partial views of the subject; and though the general impression was, that great saving might be effected, few thought that colonel Wardle had pointed out a proper method of retrenchment. Mr. Huskisson, having endeavored, with true parliamentary tact, to blind the house by vilifying the character of his opponent, entered into a labored defence of the existing system, in which he certainly succeeded in showing that most of colonel Wardle's statements were incorrect or unfounded: it would have had a better appearance however, if he had directly admitted the practicability of reducing the public expenditure, even though he had not employed his own accurate and extensive knowledge in developing any plan to effect it: his conduct on this occasion was part of a system injudiciously pursued by administrations in general: while their opponents contend that there are many things wrong and injurious to the public interests, they on the other hand obstinately maintain that every thing is correct and beneficial; without perceiving that if they would themselves candidly point out what needs reform, they would not only weaken the power of antagonists, but gain a firmer and more extensive footing in the confidence of the nation. As a general and efficacious remedy for the many and

great abuses so freely brought under discussion this session, Sir Francis Burdett urged the necessity of parliamentary reform; though his motion went no farther than to pledge the house, at an early period next session, to investigate the state of the national representation: Mr. Perceval however, declaring that 'he saw no reason whatever to enter on the subject of reform at all, could not agree to vote for any such pledge:' he assumed it as a fact, that the people of England were more united against parliamentary reform than almost any other measure; because they considered it wholly unnecessary: and with regard to the honorable baronet's scheme, he thought it never would produce the expected effects, unless the constitution of the human mind could be first altered, and freed from all its prejudices and passions.

In order that the reader may judge of the plan thus subjected to the scoffs of the chancellor of the exchequer, and compare it with that which has been successfully carried into effect, the following brief analysis is given. Sir Francis divided his scheme into three parts: by the first article, it was proposed, that all freeholders, householders, and others, who paid direct taxes to the state, the church, or the poor, should possess votes: secondly, that a convenient division of places intitled to send representatives to parliament should be traced out, each division be again subdivided, and each subdivision return one member; the elections being conducted in the several parishes all on the same day: lastly, that the duration of parliaments should be reduced to the period of time most agreeable to the British constitution. Without staying to discuss the merits of this scheme, or the general advantages of parliamentary reform, we may be permitted to observe that the period under consideration was totally unfit for its introduction: the country was now engaged in a contest for its national existence; and any direct interference with the machinery of government, acknowledged, as it was on all sides, to work well for the prosecution of that contest, would have been the acme of insanity: indeed, to have taken it to pieces in the face of Napoleon, would probably have reduced England to the condition of a French province: and this is the best excuse that can be made for such men as Perceval and Canning; when they so strenuously defended the manifest abuses which had crept into the constitution, as well as that principal cause of them, a monopoly of what were called popular representatives by the aristocratic classes.

The supplies voted for the present year amounted to about

£54,000,000: among the ways and means, were £19,000,000 proceeding from war taxes; and a loan of £14,600,000, the whole of which had been contracted for at the low interest of four pounds, twelve shillings, and one penny per cent. The fourth report of the committee of public expenditure exhibited disclosures regarding the conduct of the commissioners appointed to sell and dispose of Dutch ships detained or brought into British ports, which startled honorable gentlemen even in the existing state of parliamentary representation. It appeared, that the appointment of five commissioners took place in 1795; that their transactions were nearly brought to a close in 1799; and that, as no fixed remuneration had been assigned to them, they charged a commission of five per cent on the gross proceeds of their sales: not satisfied however with the enormous sum of £132,000 thus produced, they employed the money entrusted to them, in discounting private bills for their own emolument. After an animated discussion, the house resolved that the commissioners had been guilty of a flagrant violation of public duty; and a sure, though silent step, was gained in the cause of parliamentary reform.

After the battle of Coruña, the cause of Spain seemed wholly lost: her allies were driven out, and her own armies dispersed; her government was bewildered, and her people dismayed: but the hostility of Austria fortunately arrested the conqueror's career; and even Spanish energy revived at the abrupt cessation of his terrific warfare: the court of Vienna was now making incredible exertions, by the magnitude of which it hoped to crush its foe. The plan proposed was to menace both France and Italy with a force of 200,000 men, commanded by the archduke Charles; while another army in Galicia was ready to oppose any troops which the czar might send to aid his imperial ally.

In the mean time, king Joseph, escorted by about 6000 of his French guards, had re-entered Madrid on the twenty-third of January: but he was a sovereign without revenue; and would also have remained without the semblance of authority, had he not been nominated the emperor's lieutenant in Spain; which allowed him to move the army at his will: but this delegation of an authority, which was not very prudently exercised, gave much disgust to the French marshals; among whom the same jealous passions, as had ruined the patriotic cause, now began to appear, and soon became sufficiently strong to stop the career of victory. At the period of Buonaparte's departure, the force of the army, exclusive of Joseph's

French guards, was 324,400 men, of which about 39,000 were cavalry; 58,000 were in hospitals; dépôts, garrisons, governments, and prisons absorbed about 25,000: consequently, more than 240,000 were under arms; while the great line of communication with France was protected by above 50,000 men, whose positions were strengthened by three fortresses, and sixty-four posts of correspondence, each more or less fortified.² The distribution of these troops bore as yet the impress of Napoleon's genius: Madrid was the centre of operations; the different divisions being so distributed, that by a concentric march on that capital, they could crush every insurrectionary movement within the circle of their positions. The great masses, being kept on the principal roads diverging from Madrid to the extremities of the peninsula, intercepted all communication between the provinces; and the second corps, under Soult, thrust out, as it were, beyond the circumference, and destined to act independently, was sure to find support, with a good line of retreat, at any point where it might be necessary.

Some faint show of spirit appeared in the Spanish armies of Estremadura and La Mancha during January, when the government was strongly urged by our agents to make an effort to lighten the pressure on the British troops: very little however was effected; and the central junta exhibited their deplorable incapacity by selecting Cuesta for military command. About this time, Florida Blanca, president of that body, died; and was succeeded by the marquis of Astorga, without its character being affected by the change. 'Some fleeting indications of vigor,' says colonel Napier, 'had been produced by imminent danger, during the flight from Aranjuez; but a large remittance of silver from South America, which arrived at Cadiz, absorbed the attention of the members, and the public weal was blotted from their remembrance: even Mr. Frere, ashamed of their conduct, appeared to acquiesce in the justness of Sir John Moore's estimate of the value of Spanish co-operation.'³

In the mean time, the third and fifth corps, under marshals Moncey and Mortier, were occupied in the second siege of Saragossa, whose citizens, sacrificing every personal consideration, prepared an internal system of defence, far more efficacious than that of external fortification; transforming the city itself into one mighty fortress, and coalescing with the

² Napier, vol. ii. p. 9.

³ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 11.

troops in one determined and energetic garrison. The French, encircled by insurrections and straitened for supplies, made but little progress, until marshal Lasnes took the supreme command on the twenty-second of January: then the external defences of Saragossa were soon swept away; but the heroic city stood erect, and defied all the efforts of her assailants: henceforward the war-cry was heard in her streets, where every house became a fortress, every church and convent a citadel, garrisoned by men resolved to die in its defence. It has been said by an old writer, 'that the Spaniards are lions in their fortresses, and women in the field:' all the accounts of those who served with them in this war bear testimony to their pusillanimous conduct in open battle, while they showed themselves truly lion-hearted at Saragossa and Gerona: nor is this trait confined to the modern inhabitants of the peninsula; their ancestors at Saguntum and Numantia equally exhibited it. Before the middle of February, the spirit of the besieging army was nearly exhausted. 'They had labored and fought,' says colonel Napier, 'without intermission fifty days; they had crumbled the walls with their bullets, burst the convents with their mines, and carried the breaches with their bayonets; fighting above and beneath the surface of the earth, they had spared neither fire nor sword; their bravest men were falling in the obscurity of a subterranean warfare; famine pinched them; and Saragossa was still unconquered!'

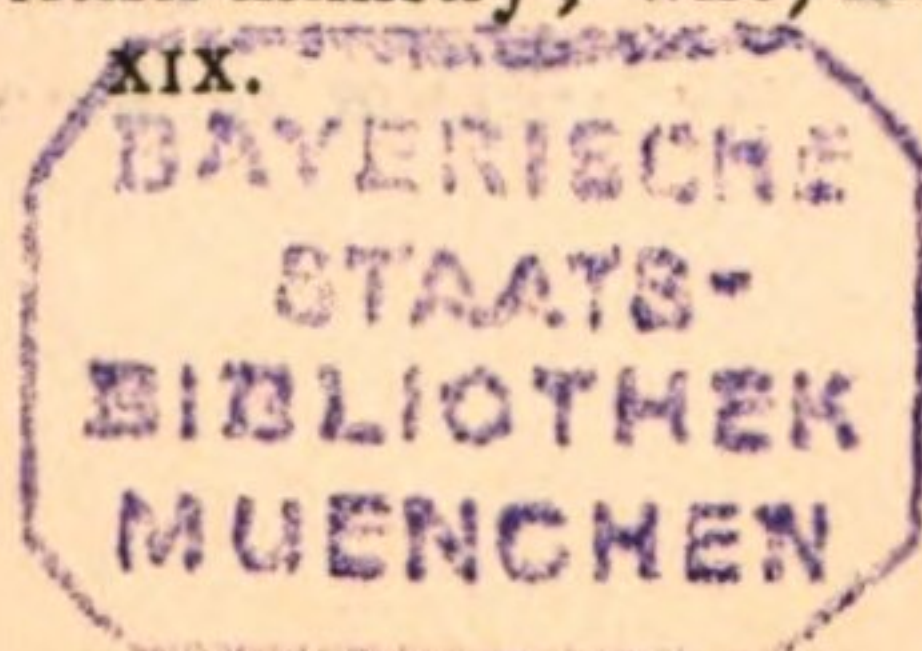
Marshal Lasnes, unshaken by the murmurs of his troops, endeavored to raise their hopes; and, as a pestilence was raging at this period with such violence in the devoted city, that the living were unable to bury the dead, he succeeded in re-animating their spirits for a general assault. It commenced on the eighteenth, after a mine, containing 3000 pounds of powder, had been sprung under the university with complete effect; while fifty pieces of artillery thundered on the suburb, and effected a breach in the great convent of St. Lazar, the principal point of defence on that side. This important blow being followed on the nineteenth by a successful attack on the right bank of the Ebro, and the dreadful explosion of a mine, terms of capitulation were demanded by the garrison, but refused as too favorable by the besiegers. In the mean time, the artillery kept up its fire; and six mines, under the principal street called the Cosso, being ready for a simultaneous explosion, which would have laid waste one quarter of the city, the hour of surrender at length arrived, and the garrison marched out with those honors of war which they had so nobly

earned, to be sent prisoners to France ; while the possession of their property and the exercise of their religion were guaranteed to the inhabitants.

In Catalonia, as in other parts of Spain, a withering lethargic vanity, added to the most pernicious abuses, followed the first burst of popular enthusiasm : even with the assistance of lord Collingwood and his fleet, with arms from Malta and Sicily, and with the regiments that had been released by the convention of Cintra, and conveyed to their own shores in British transports, the Catalonians were unable either to regain or to keep possession of Rosas. 'After the fall of this latter place,' as lord Collingwood observed, 'every thing seemed to go wrong. The Spaniards, though in considerable force, dispersed, as if panic-struck, whenever the enemy appeared : their applications for supplies, indeed, were unlimited : they wanted money, arms, and ammunition ; of which no use was made when they got them.' 'In the English papers,' says his lordship, 'I see accounts of successes, and convoys cut off, and waggons destroyed ; which are not true : what has been done in that way, has been by the boats of our frigates.' In fact, the retention of Tarragona, Tortosa, Valencia, and other important places, as well as the transport of supplies, and assistance to the retreating armies, was wholly due to the co-operation of the British fleet ; while the supreme junta left the Spanish navy to rot in the harbors of Cadiz and Carthagena, though money was advanced by the British government, and the assistance of its seamen offered to fit them out for sea.

In Portugal all was anarchy and confusion, through the absence of the British commanders ; when Sir John Cradock, after touching at Oporto and leaving some directions with Sir Robert Wilson, who had succeeded in organising about 1300 men, under the title of the Lusitanian legion, arrived at Lisbon in December, 1808. He found the financial affairs dreadfully managed, the regency destitute of all vigor or capacity, the taxes unpaid, the cash exhausted, and treasury paper at a heavy discount : the government stood in greater fear of domestic insurrection than the return of the French ; and though the military forces of the country were estimated at 20,000, yet it was found from accurate information that only 10,000 stand of serviceable arms remained in the kingdom ; while the regular troops were dreadfully disorganised, and the militia animated by a spirit of outrage rather than of patriotism. This information he transmitted to the British ministry ; who, misled by the

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false information of interested agents, still imagined that both the Spanish and Portuguese armies were numerous and well-appointed; confidently expecting that the latter would be able to take an active part in the peninsular campaign.

Sir John Cradock, though surrounded by difficulties, disinterestedly sent a large reinforcement of British troops to the assistance of Sir John Moore, while he forwarded to the regency a strong representation of the dangerous state of affairs: but he could persuade them to adopt no efficient measures either for arming the people or protecting the frontiers; while the advance of the French in Spain rendered it necessary for the few British troops to fall back: general Stewart therefore was directed to retire on Sacavena, after destroying the bridges of Villa Velha and Abrantes; when the populace of Lisbon, supposing their allies were about to abandon the country, exhibited signs of the most violent commotion. 'At this gloomy period,' says colonel Napier, 'when ten marches would have brought the French to Lisbon, when a stamp of Napoleon's foot would have extinguished that spark of war which afterwards blazed over the peninsula, Sir John Moore made his daring movement on Sahagun; and Portugal, gasping as in mortal agony, was instantly relieved.'

Sir John Cradock now took measures for the defence of Lisbon, while Sir Robert Wilson, who was established in Almeida, exerted himself in collecting stragglers, enticing the French to desert, spreading false reports of his numbers in order to create alarm, and practising all the arts of a strenuous and able partisan: but as the reverses in the north-west of Spain became known, the possession of Portugal appeared to the British ministry of less importance, and that of Cadiz obtained an increased value in their eyes: general Sherbroke therefore was despatched thither in January with 5000 men; Sir George Smith, a zealous and clever officer, having been previously sent to remove objections against the reception of an English garrison; while Mr. Frere was directed to open negotiations with the supreme junta for the same purpose. Sir George found the defences of the place in a very dilapidated state, and the city wholly unprovided with regular troops: being ignorant of Sir John Moore's forward movements, and naturally calculating on the immediate advance of the French, he wrote to Sir John Cradock for assistance; when that officer, little thinking that the supreme junta would be more jealous of their allies than fearful of their enemies, despatched 3000 men, under major-general Mackenzie, which arrived at Cadiz on the

fifth of February : but after a series of negociations, which failed in persuading the junta to admit them into the city, though the populace was anxious for their presence, they were recalled to the defence of Portugal, and arrived at Lisbon on the twelfth of March. This disappointment, like a thousand others, arose from the false position in which the English ministers had placed themselves, by inundating Spain with arms and money, without asserting any just influence, or insisting on proper terms as the price of their support.

The zealous efforts made by Sir John Cradock to secure Cadiz having failed, while Lisbon, whence his best troops had been withdrawn, was in a very dangerous state, he turned his attention solely to the defence of that capital, and to such a protection of the country as was practicable with his slender forces : in the mean time, the passions of the populace became so furious, that no foreigner could pass the streets in safety ; and the British troops themselves were exposed to the most outrageous insults, unrepressed by the Portuguese regency, which was but little better than a Spanish junta. In Oporto, the second city of the kingdom, violence and confusion, owing to the misrule of the bishop and his infamous agents, were at a still greater height ; so that, although the bulk of the people continued firm in their attachment to their country, a large and powerful party arose, favorable to French interests, and ready to accept a sovereign of that nation, if with him they could obtain national tranquillity and an improved constitution. At this period too it appears that the British government had nearly come to a resolution of abandoning Portugal to its fate :³ suddenly however a change of policy again took place ; signs of a better spirit appeared even in the regency ; and the command of all their troops, with the title of marshal, was offered to an English general : this appointment, after it had been refused by Sir A. Wellesley, and solicited by the marquis of Hastings, was conferred, through the all-prevailing power of parliamentary interest, on major-general Beresford, to the great discontent of several officers superior to him in rank, and especially of that gallant soldier, general Sherbroke, whose claims appear to have been shamefully passed over. Information of this change was sent to Sir John Cradock : orders also were despatched for the recall of general Sherbroke, who had not reached the harbor of Cadiz when he received them ; so that his division, and that of Mackenzie, entered the Tagus together on the twelfth of March ; and the fate of Portugal was

³ Napier, vol. ii. p. 145.

fixed. Early in the same month marshal Beresford arrived ; and fixing his head-quarters at Thomar, began to collect the Portuguese troops together in masses, appointing British officers to command their regiments, according to the power with which he had been invested : he then commenced that admirable system of reform and military discipline, by which the Portuguese were rendered worthy of standing in the field at the side of British soldiers ; while the Spanish armies, to the very end of the campaign, were the contempt both of friends and foes.

During these transactions, marshal Soult, after uniting the first corps with his own, and dispersing the Spanish armies, had been advancing on Portugal : by the middle of March he had taken Chaves, and was marching toward Braga, where the unfortunate general Freire had just been cruelly murdered by the populace. At the former place the humanity of Soult had been conspicuous, allowing the militia that were taken prisoners to return home, and supplying many of the poorest with food and clothes ; but at Braga, where, after an ill-contested battle, the Portuguese battalions fled in disorder, no quarter was given, on account of the horrid cruelties perpetrated on French prisoners. On the twenty-seventh, Soult appeared before Oporto, where his opponents were collected in great force, with 200 pieces of artillery in their defences : he had previously written to the bishop, calling on him to calm the effervescence of the people, who had committed the most dreadful massacres on their own citizens ;⁴ and now, beholding the extended works in his front, and the weakness of their defenders, he renewed his application to that abominable priest, to spare him the misery of delivering up this great commercial city to the horrors of an assault. The bishop however was neither willing nor able to control the furious populace, who continued firing from the intrenchments during the whole of the negociation, and would have killed Soult's messenger, if they had not been deceived by a tale, importing that he came to treat for the surrender of the French army : that army therefore was prepared for an attack ; and the bishop, having brought affairs to the most awful crisis, quitted the city, and took his

⁴ ' The defeat of Braga,' says colonel Napier, ' being known in Oporto, caused a tumult on the twenty-second, in which Louis d'Olivera, a man of high rank, who had been cast into prison, was, with fourteen other persons, haled forth and despatched with many stabs : the bodies were then mutilated, and dragged in triumph through the streets.'

station in a convent beyond the Douro, whence he could view in safety all the horrors of the ensuing day.

On the twenty-ninth, Soult commenced the assault in three columns; and having quickly succeeded in taking all the outer defences, broke through the centre of the Portuguese army; a portion of which fled up and another down the Douro: the latter, instigated by terror, plunged into the broad stream, after having shot their general, Lima, for remonstrating against the mad attempt; and nearly the whole perished: the former were actually saved from a similar fate by a corps of the enemy, under general Arnaud, which hemmed them in. The battle then raged furiously within the town, into which two battalions had penetrated: more than 4000 persons of both sexes, young and old, were running in wild affright toward the bridge of the Douro; when a dastardly regiment of their own countrymen, flying from the French, rushed through this helpless crowd at full gallop, 'trampling a bloody pathway to the river.'⁵ The survivors still advanced: the boats, that were first occupied, sank beneath the numbers with which they were crowded: the foremost tumbled into the stream as they were pressed from behind, and perished in such numbers, that huge piles of carcases rose above the surface of the water. Nor was this the worst calamity that fell on the devoted city: when the French troops entered, excited by previous hardships and a successful assault, they were still farther exasperated by a fire of musketry opened on them from the bishop's palace: 'but,' says the author of the Peninsular War, 'they became frantic with fury, when, in one of the principal squares, they found several of their comrades, who had been made prisoners, fastened upright and living; with their eyes burst, their tongues torn out, and their other members mutilated and gashed. Those that beheld the sight spared none who fell in their way: it was in vain that Soult and his officers strove to stop the slaughter, and rescued many victims at the risk of their own lives: the frightful scene of rape, pillage, and murder closed not for many hours; and reckoning those who fell in battle, those who were drowned, and those sacrificed to revenge, it is said that 10,000 Portuguese died on that unhappy day.'⁶ In the mean time, the bishop, having seen the overthrow of his ambitious schemes in the north of Portugal, fled to Lisbon, reconciled himself to the regency, and employed his

⁵ Napier, vol. i. p. 202.

⁶ Ibid. vol. i. p. 203.

great influence in the same unworthy manner as before. While these transactions took place, Sebastiani won the battle of Ciudad Real, defeating the Spanish general Cartoajal with great slaughter, and pursuing his troops up to the Sierra Morena: marshal Victor also had intirely routed the forces of Cuesta, in the disastrous battle of Medellin: he was then ordered by the king to support Soult in the invasion of Portugal; but at this time an extraordinary inactivity was perceivable in the French commanders; which, being attributed by the Spaniards to weakness and to the Austrian war, served to keep up a certain degree of spirit in the people, and uphold the authority of the central junta: the remnants of the two defeated armies were united under the obstinate and incapable Cuesta; who, being joined by all the scattered forces in Andalusia, took post with 25,000 men in the defiles of Monasterio, in order to cover Seville; while general Vinegas proceeded to organise another army in La Mancha. Marshal Victor occupied Alcantara, where he was joined by a division brought from the vicinity of Salamanca by general Lapisse, whose extreme inactivity had been the principal cause of those dilatory movements, which left Soult to his own resources.

The fall of Oporto however enabled the duke of Dalmatia to establish a solid base of operations in a prominent station, and to commence a regular system of warfare. Having restored order, and remedied as far as possible the deplorable effects of military fury, he induced the scattered inhabitants to return home by his conciliatory conduct, and the prudence of his civil administration. At this time a scheme was projected to place the crown of Portugal on his head: whether this originated with himself, or with the anti-Braganza party which was daily increasing, has not yet been determined: at all events, Soult knew and encouraged the design; but the emperor was vigilant; and a despatch from head quarters informed the troops, that the proceedings, not only of the marshal, but of all around him, were narrowly watched. Soult's services however were too important to be thrown away, if his resentment was not too dangerous to be excited; and Napoleon informed him by letter, that 'he remembered nothing but the day of Austerlitz.' The civil duties in which the marshal was engaged, so much engrossed his attention, as sensibly to affect his military operations; which latter were still farther clogged by the ramifications of a plot to change the French government, existing in the army, discontented and disgusted at

the war in which it was now employed.⁷ In such a state of affairs, the unexpected arrival of a renowned and victorious commander created great enthusiasm in Portugal; and when Sir A. Wellesley landed, on the twenty-second of April, to assume the command of the British army, the regency immediately nominated him marshal-general of all their forces.

Sir Arthur did not long waver between offensive and defensive operations: but knowing that the duke of Dalmatia could not force his way alone to Lisbon, and that general Lapisse, by a false movement, had placed insuperable barriers against any communication between Soult and Victor, he hesitated some time respecting the course he should take. To meet the exigences of the campaign, his resources were, a fine central position; 26,000 courageous, well-disciplined British and German troops; about 16,000 Portuguese regulars, beside two independent corps under colonel Trant and Silveira, in addition to the insurgent force or militia of the country: he had also the fortresses of Almeida, Ciudad Rodrigo, Elvas, Abrantes, Peniche, and Badajos; the British fleet; and the assistance of Cuesta, who commanded 6000 cavalry and 30,000 infantry; the greater part of which was actually in the vicinity of Victor's posts. To fall on that marshal appeared at first view the best policy, because more troops could be brought to bear against him, and his defeat would prove most detrimental to the French, as well as advantageous to the Spaniards: but as Soult held in subjection a rich province, whence the chief supply of cattle was obtained, and was forming a French party in the second city of the kingdom; the feelings both of the regency and the people were interested in his expulsion; while to attack Victor it would be necessary to ensure the co-operation of Cuesta, who was so ill disposed toward the English, that the time requisite to conciliate him could not be spared. Sir Arthur Wellesley therefore resolved to give his chief attention to Soult: Lisbon however being the pivot of operations against him, the progress of Victor, if he should make an offensive movement against the capital, was to be checked, if it could not be impeded. To effect this, about 10,000 Portuguese troops were directed on Abrantes and Santarem, whither five British battalions and two regiments of cavalry also marched. A body of 2000 men, composed chiefly of the Lusitanian legion, liberated from their position at Castello Branco by the movement of Lapisse across the Tagus,

⁷ Napier, vol. ii. p. 267, &c.

were posted at the bridge of Alcantara, to defend the passage, and, if necessary, to blow up that splendid monument of Trajan's genius: the flying bridges at Villa Velha and Abrantes were removed; and the chief command of all the troops, thus disposed along the right bank of the river, was given to general Mackenzie. There was still a danger, that Victor, leaving behind him the fortresses of Elvas and Badajos, might pass the Tagus between Abrantes and Lisbon: but Cuesta had promised to follow in his rear; and reliance was placed on Mackenzie's skill, in not allowing himself to be cut off from the capital: besides, Victor was eighteen marches distant, and accident alone could enable him and Soult to act in concert.

The British generalissimo now directed the march of his combined forces on Coimbra; and these, when concentrated at that place on the fifth of May, amounted to about 25,000 infantry and cavalry, of which 9000 were Portuguese, and 3000 Germans: so promptly and secretly had this large force been conducted to the Mondego, that the duke of Dalmatia was ignorant of its movements; though many of his own officers, engaged in the plot above mentioned, were aware of its approach, and actually held several conferences, by means of colonel d'Argenton and other agents, with Sir A. Wellesley; but the latter placed too little dependence on the conspiracy to forego his military operations in consequence: no long time however elapsed before d'Argenton was arrested; and the duke of Dalmatia, becoming alive to the perils of his situation, made every necessary disposition of his troops and stores for a retrograde movement into the province of *Tras os Montes*.⁸

It was not long before all the French corps on the south of the Douro were driven to the other side of that river, after they had destroyed the bridge: on the twelfth of May, the passage was effected by a skilful manœuvre of the British general; and Soult, evacuating Oporto, fell back with his main force on Amarante. It now became the fate of this celebrated commander, by one of those sudden turns of fortune so common in war, to fly before one British general, as another had so lately fled before him. On the very day that Sir A. Wellesley entered Oporto, general Loison retreated from Amarante before

⁸ It is to be regretted that the limits of this work will not permit a minute detail of operations in the ensuing campaigns; or of arrangements and combinations previous to great actions, in which perhaps military genius is seen to greater advantage than in those actions themselves, where the soldiers necessarily share in the merits of a successful commander.

Beresford's division, without hazarding a blow; thus leaving his commander in chief, and two-thirds of the French army, exposed to the most imminent peril: their destruction indeed would have been inevitable, if Loison's retreat had been known to the British general; who, being unconscious of the fact, delayed the advance of his forces one day at Oporto, in order to bring the rear guard, stores, and artillery over the Douro.

News of this unexpected calamity reached Soult at one o'clock on the morning of the thirteenth, just as he had passed the Souza; and when the whole army, smitten with dismay and sinking under fatigues that were increased by the boisterous state of the weather, called for a capitulation, he displayed all the energy and resources of a great commander. Being informed by a Spanish pedlar of a path that led over the Sierra de Catalina to Guimaraens, he silenced the murmurs of his troops, destroyed the artillery, abandoned the military chest and baggage, loaded the animals with sick men and musket ammunition, and followed his guide: though the rain was descending in torrents, and the path such as might be expected in that wild region, the troops made good their passage to Pombeira; and at Guimaraens fell in with Loison's division: during the night, they were joined by Lorge's dragoons; and thus the whole army became concentrated. The sagacity of the French marshal was still farther displayed in his ulterior movements: most generals would have moved by the direct route from Guimaraens to Braga; but Soult, calculating, from the slackness of pursuit after he had passed Vallonga, that the British army must be on the road to Braga, and would arrive there before him; or that, at best, he must retreat fighting, and sacrifice the guns and baggage of Loison's and Lorge's corps in the face of an enemy; with an admirable firmness of purpose, destroyed them at once: then, leaving the high road, he took again to the mountain paths; and, gaining a day's march in point of time, arrived at Braga on the evening of the fourteenth: there he re-organised his army; and, giving the command of the advanced guard to Loison, who had to fight his way through the native troops, from whose fury no terms of capitulation would have saved him;⁹ he took the superintendence of the rear on himself. Sir A. Wellesley, quitting Braga on the morning of the sixteenth, came up in the afternoon with the French rear guard, which remained at Salamonde, to cover the

⁹ No one of the French generals had oppressed them so severely as Loison, and no one was so hated.

passage of the army over the bridge, called Ponte Nova, on the Cavado: here a great slaughter took place, when the British artillery was brought to bear on them; men and horses being crushed together, and driven over the battlements; while the bridge, and the rocks, and the defile beyond, were strewed with dead bodies: this was the last calamity endured by the retreating army from the British: the tortures and mutilations inflicted on their sick and stragglers by the infuriated peasantry, were most atrocious; and this brought down a dreadful retaliation on defenceless villages and towns in the route, from those bodies of troops that still held together. On the eighteenth, Soult crossed the frontier by Allaritz; and on the nineteenth entered Orense, deprived of guns, stores, ammunition, and baggage; his men exhausted by fatigue and misery; with a total loss of 6000 soldiers since he quitted that place eleven weeks before.

At Orense the French marshal halted only one day; and on the twenty-first put his troops in motion on Lugo, to succor general Fournier, who with three battalions and a regiment of dragoons was besieged by more than 12,000 Spaniards: on the twenty-third, he entered that place, where he first heard of Napoleon's successes in Austria, and with renewed energy prepared himself for fresh exertions: on the thirtieth, he was joined by marshal Ney; and in consequence of an order from the emperor, he sent 1100 men, the skeletons of cavalry regiments, to France; after which, having partially restored the artillery and equipments of the second corps from Coruña and Ferrol, he concerted measures with Ney to destroy Romana. It is not our province to detail their operations, which singularly failed in effect, principally through the jealousy that existed between those two eminent commanders: we must rather return with Sir A. Wellesley to his head quarters at Abrantes, where he remained till the latter part of June, kept back by various difficulties from prosecuting his main object, a campaign against marshal Victor. Though he had been reinforced by 5000 men, his army did not exceed 22,000 under arms; for the hospitals were full of sick, the soldiers were almost barefooted, and without pay; while the military chest was quite empty: besides, he was constantly subject to a diminution of force; since ministers, still intent on Cadiz, had authorised Mr. Frere to draw a garrison from Sir Arthur's army, whenever the junta should permit the British to occupy that city.

The cost of maintaining this army was about £200,000 a month: by the most strenuous exertions £160,000 only had

been procured in the two months of May and June; and of this, £13,000 had been obtained as a temporary loan in Oporto: thus, while government was lavishing millions of dollars on the infamous juntas of Spain, our own brave troops were left nearly destitute, and unable to take the field. This want of money, sickness, Cuesta's impracticable disposition, and several other causes, kept the army in a state of inactivity: neither had Victor himself been able to make any progress, while the British army was chasing Soult from the north of Portugal. The original plan of the emperor had been in various instances departed from; and all thoughts of attacking Portugal vanished, when Napoleon was obliged, on account of the threatening posture of affairs in Germany, to recall the imperial guards from Vittoria, and to diminish his Spanish armies by more than 40,000 men. These things had rendered Joseph timid; and he thought it of greater consequence to preserve Madrid, than to conquer Lisbon: Sebastiani therefore was forbidden to make any forward movement; and the duke of Belluno, whose army was wasted by an intermittent fever, took a position at Torremocha, a central point between Truxillo, Merida, and Alcantara: his cavalry posts watched all the passages of the Tagus and Guadiana; and his communications with Madrid were protected by 1200 troops detached for that purpose by the king.

In the mean time, the presence of the British at Castello Branco increased the energy of the Spanish insurgents in the valley of the Tagus, who communicated secretly with those of the Sierra de Guadalupe on the left side of that river: hence Victor, alarmed for his bridge at Almaraz, sent a division thither on the twenty-second of May, and remained quiet himself; having neither assisted Soult, nor crushed Cuesta, nor taken Badajos or Seville: meanwhile, the Spaniards were daily recovering confidence; and Sir Arthur Wellesley, after beating Soult, had full leisure to arrange his combinations with their armies on the Tagus and in the south. Much valuable time however was lost with Cuesta, who wished to have the whole direction of the campaign; but Sir Arthur, though he anxiously sought to conciliate the obstinate old man, could not yield so vital a point; and thus the opportunity was lost of a rapid march to Almaraz, and cutting off Victor at Torremocha. The French marshal, seeing the practicability of this manœuvre, determined to retire across the Tagus; which movement he effected on the nineteenth of June, without any molestation from Cuesta, and took post at Plasencia; having, by a *ruse de guerre*, induced colonel Mayne to blow up the bridge of Alcantara, in order

that his flank might not be subject to attack. Meanwhile, Beresford returned to the defence of the northern provinces of Portugal, against the indefatigable Soult; who, hearing of Sir Arthur Wellesley's arrival on the Tagus, ceased his pursuit of Romana, and marched to Zamora, whither his brother had conducted 3000 or 4000 stragglers. Here also he requested the king to send artillery and stores necessary to equip the second corps, which required some rest, after its horrible sufferings during an incessant warfare of eight months: Ney at the same time removed his division to Astorga; and thus Galicia was completely freed from the presence of French troops. Beresford, having collected together all the regular Portuguese forces that were at his disposal, placed them in position about Almeida: the duke del Parque was at Ciudad Rodrigo; and thither a part of Romana's forces also had repaired: so that no less than 25,000 Portuguese and Spanish troops were assembled round those two fortresses, opposed to Soult's intended movement along the frontier line of Portugal. In the mean time, Suchet had intirely dissipated the army of Blake in Arragon; by which means he rendered the fifth corps, under Mortier, available for offensive operations: thus, on the first of July, there were, beside the divisions of Kellerman and Bonnet, three complete *corps d'armée*, consisting of 6000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry, collected between Astorga, Zamora, and Valladolid. The inroad on Portugal had failed, and the loss of Galicia followed; but Napoleon's admirable system of invasion still remained unbroken.¹⁰ The whole number of French forces at this time in the peninsula, under arms, amounted to about 175,000 infantry and 33,000 cavalry; those under Victor in the valley of the Tagus, and at Madrid with the king, amounting to near 50,000 foot and 9000 horse; those under the supreme command of Soult, in Old Castile, reaching nearly the same number of infantry, and above 5000 cavalry:¹¹ yet the situation of Spain was an ameliorated one; the materials of resistance were again collected into large masses; and the hopes of the people revived; since they attributed the inactivity of the French to weakness and fear, rather than to the real causes,—the pressure of the Austrian war, the jealousy of the marshals, and the unmilitary character of the king. The Spanish forces were about 20,000 in Arragon and Valencia; 25,000 in the north-western provinces, under Vorster, Balasteros, and the duke del Parque; the Andalusian armies

¹⁰ Napier, vol. ii. p. 329.¹¹ Ibid. p. 332.

consisted of about 70,000; of which 38,000, including 7000 cavalry, were under Cuesta in Estremadura; while 23,000 infantry and 2500 cavalry were in the Morena, near St. Elena and Carolina: these troops however were far from being serviceable in proportion to their numbers; they consisted mostly of new and ill-trained levies; while the commanders had lost nothing of their presumption, learned nothing of war, and were as contentious with each other as ever. Cuesta, hating the junta, was equally hated in return by that body, who had placed Vinegas at the head of the army about Carolina, as a counterpoise against him, in their own interest: all the others were infected with extreme jealousy and a factious spirit, which descended even to the inferior officers: but every operation was paralysed by the junta. 'At the very period,' says colonel Napier, 'when the marquis of Romana and the insurgents in Galicia were urgently soliciting a few arms and £5000 from Sir John Cradock, the junta possessed many millions of money; and their magazines in Cadiz were bursting with the continually increasing quantity of stores sent from England, which were left to rot as they arrived, though from every quarter of the country not yet subdued the demand for these things was incessant.' We shall soon see how their British allies, when they advanced into the country to fight their battles, were left equally destitute by these wretched governors.

The time however was now arrived for a blow to be struck in Spain, while the energies of the people appeared to be resuscitated; and large armies, collected together during the absence of Napoleon, seemed only to require a great military genius to lead them on to victory: that genius was at hand; yet even he was misled, like his eminent and unfortunate predecessor, by false information, vain boasting, and faithless promises. Urged by the importunities of the Spanish government and generals, and feeling that if Victor were not quickly disabled, the British army, menaced on both sides by powerful foes, must retire to some defensive position, where it would probably remain till it became an object of contempt; Sir Arthur Wellesley determined to advance. Three lines of operation were open to him: by the first, he would have crossed the Tagus, joined Cuesta, and made Elvas and Badajos the base of his movements; but this might have endangered Beresford's army: by the second, he would have taken Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo as the centre of operations, advancing by Salamanca, while Cuesta and Vinegas occupied

the attention of Victor ; but this might have led to the ruin of Cuesta's force, and to the loss of Seville or Lisbon. These routes therefore being rejected, he adopted the third, and determined to advance on Plasencia and Almaraz, endeavor to form a junction with Cuesta, and then advance on Madrid ; toward which point Vinegas might proceed by way of La Mancha. The native armies under these two generals consisted of 38,000 and 25,000 men respectively ; being the best equipped and most efficient of all that had yet taken the field : the English force in Portugal amounted to 20,000 men on the frontier, and 8000 at Lisbon ; so that 90,000 regular troops might thus be brought to bear on 50,000, which was the number of French protecting Madrid : besides, there were many bands of Spanish guerillas in the mountains ; and Sir Robert Wilson's legion was about 1000 strong.

The mountainous ridge which separates the valley of the Tagus from Castile and Leon being impracticable for artillery, except at the passes of Baños and Perales, it was supposed that the 20,000 men under Beresford and the duke del Parque would be able to block those entrances ; and that Romana, moving through the *Tras-os-Montes*, might join them, and thus form an efficient protection to the flank of the British army in its advance to Madrid. But it remained for Sir A. Wellesley to acquire a practical knowledge of Spanish skill, activity, and faith, which was not lost on him in his future campaigns : besides, the means of information were so defective, that the arrival of the sixth French corps at Astorga, and of the fifth at Valladolid, was unknown to him ; as also was the efficient state in which the second had been placed by its indefatigable commander. 'Thus,' says colonel Napier, 'instead of fifteen or twenty thousand harassed French troops, without artillery, there were 70,000 fighting men behind the mountains :' fearful odds ! against which nothing but the most consummate skill, sagacity, and valor could have contended with success.

On the twenty-seventh of June, the British army, consisting of about 21,000 men, of which 3000 were cavalry, with thirty pieces of artillery, broke up from the camp of Abrantes, and on the tenth of July was collected at Plasencia, whence the duke of Belluno, who had previously taken post there, had been recalled by the king to Talavera : this movement on the side of the French was adopted in consequence of false information being spread respecting Vinegas, who was said to be advancing with considerable reinforcements on Madrid. Under such circumstances, Joseph himself marched as far as the Jabalon river

into La Mancha, in the hope of meeting that general; though he left Victor with only 14,000 men at Talavera, exposed to attack by Cuesta with nearly 40,000 men: but there was no danger from a Spanish commander, especially from Cuesta.

Knowing that two French corps were beyond the mountains on his left, Sir A. Wellesley took great precautions to protect his flank on that side, renewing his instructions to marshal Beresford for watching the enemy's motions, and looking carefully to the defence of the Puerto Perales: but the important pass of Baños remained still to be guarded; and for this he demanded assistance from Cuesta, who at first was unwilling to afford any at all: at length, he consented to detach two battalions from his own army, and two others from the town of Bejar; while the duke del Parque agreed to send a detachment to the pass of Perales: futile however as this aid would have proved against the overwhelming and unexpected force of Soult, it was rendered absolutely ridiculous by Cuesta, who sent two weak battalions of 300 men each, with only twenty rounds of ammunition!

At Plasencia, after a discussion of two days, the British and Spanish commanders agreed to march with their respective armies on the eighteenth against marshal Victor; while Vinegas, advancing at the same time through La Mancha, should make for Fuente Dueñas on the Upper Tagus, in order to draw thither Sebastiani, with the fourth corps; or if the general refused to move, should cross the Tagus, and march on the capital from the S.E., while Sir Robert Wilson menaced it from the opposite quarter. At this time however the British army was almost destitute of supplies: misled by the information of Mr. Frere, who described the inhabitants of Estremadura as viewing the war in the light of a crusade, and as actuated by the enthusiasm of such a cause, Sir A. Wellesley had pushed forward his army, and now found that none of its wants were attended to by the Spanish government, or generals, or people: justly therefore alarmed for the safety of his troops, he wrote both to Mr. Frere and to general O'Donoghue, the chief of Cuesta's staff, representing his present distress, and intimating his resolution not to proceed farther than the Alberche, which falls into the Tagus a little beyond Talavera, unless his wants were immediately supplied: faithful however to his engagements with Cuesta, he prepared for an advance to that river.

On the eighteenth the British army crossed the Tietar, and on the twentieth reached Oropesa, where it halted during the twenty-first; on which day, Cuesta, who had moved from

Almaraz by Naval Moral and Arzobispo, passed Oropesa, and concentrated all his forces at Velada, with the exception of a small detachment, which marched on the left bank of the Tagus, to threaten the enemy by the bridge of Talavera. On the twenty-first, the duke of Belluno, aware of the movements of the allies, recalled his stragglers, altered his line of retreat from the Madrid and the Toledo road, removed his *parc* to Cevolla, and placed two divisions of infantry behind the Alberche. On the twenty-second, the allies moved in two columns to drive in the French posts at Talavera; when Cuesta, first coming up with the enemy's rear-guard, suffered a shameful repulse from 2000 cavalry under Latour Maubourg: the French then retreated without loss, supported by a small body of infantry, behind the Alberche; while 6000 Spanish horsemen looked calmly on, and could not be persuaded to make even a partial charge against the enemy: Victor now concentrated his forces behind the Alberche, where he rested during the twenty-second and twenty-third. No satisfactory information could be obtained by Sir A. Wellesley respecting the strength or situation of his opponents, until some English officers crossed the Tagus, and surveyed the French position from the mountains. The general outline of an attack was formed for next morning; but the details were unsettled; and when Sir Arthur came to arrange these with Cuesta, the old man was gone to bed. The British troops were drawn out under arms by sunrise; but Cuesta's staff were not roused from slumber till seven o'clock; and then he objected to fight because it happened to be Sunday: during the course of the day, however, it was reported that the French had withdrawn their guns, with an intention to retreat: then Cuesta became willing to attack, and proposed a survey of the French position in company with the British general; when, to Sir Arthur's infinite surprise, he came in a Spanish coach drawn by six horses; and as the roughness of the ground obliged him to descend from that vehicle, he threw himself down at the foot of a tree, and in a few minutes was seen fast asleep.¹² Ready as he always was to censure and thwart every proposal of his colleague, he now consented to fall on the enemy, and the troops were put in motion early on the twenty-fourth; but Victor, who held a secret correspondence with the Spanish staff, was informed of their situation, and retired during the night to Torrijos: there he was joined hourly by reinforcements during the inactivity of Vinegas; while the king was col-

¹² Napier, vol. ii. p. 369.

lecting his forces between Toledo and Talavera, and Soult was gathering together a formidable mass behind the mountains of Bejar. The British general was ignorant of this latter danger, or he would probably have retired to Plasencia, where his communications with Beresford and Lisbon would have been secure; especially since his contracts for provisions had been disregarded no less than his representations to Cuesta and the government: but he little anticipated the vile treachery which he now experienced from the supreme junta; who, after agreeing to the plan on which the commanders were acting, secretly ordered Vinegas not to fulfil his part of it; conceiving that it would be a cunning stroke of policy to save from the hazard of defeat that force, on which their own power mainly depended. 'Thus,' says colonel Napier, 'the welfare of millions was made the sport of men, who yet were never tired of praising themselves, and have not failed to find admirers elsewhere.' At this time Soult was at Salamanca with 50,000 men, not more than four days' march from Plasencia.¹³

The resolution of Sir A. Wellesley to halt at Talavera made no impression on Cuesta: a French corps had retreated before him; and in the fulness of his arrogant vanity, he crossed the Alberche in pursuit, 'as if he was chasing a deer: he soon, however, discovered that he had been hunting a tiger;' for on the twenty-sixth, while he was meditating a retreat, the French, suddenly passing the Guadarama, beat back his cavalry, and routed a large corps of infantry at Alcabon, with a total loss of 4000 men to the Spaniards; their whole army being saved only by the admirable precaution of Sir A. Wellesley, who interposed a British division, under general Sherbroke, between them and their pursuers: he then anxiously entreated Cuesta to withdraw his troops to Talavera; but the obstinacy of the old general resisted all persuasion: he passed the night, in a sulky mood, on the spot to which he had retreated; nor did he yield next day to the renewed solicitations of the British general, until the French cavalry came in sight: then, turning with sullen pride to his staff, he observed that 'he had first

¹³ On the thirtieth of June, Soult, when at Zamora, received a despatch from the emperor, dated near Ratisbon, conferring on him the supreme command of the second, fifth, and sixth corps, with orders to concentrate them, and act decisively against the English. 'Wellesley,' said Napoleon, 'will probably advance, by the Tagus, against Madrid: in that case, pass the mountains, fall on his flank and rear, and crush him.'—Napier, vol. ii., p. 374.

made the Englishman go down on his knees.'¹⁴ After this, he retired to Talavera, and left the disposition of both armies to one who was as much his superior in temper as in talent.

General Mackenzie's division, and a brigade of light horse, being left on the Alberche to cover a retrograde movement, the allied troops were placed in position to await the attack of the enemy, now united under king Joseph, the duke of Belluno, and general Sebastiani. The city of Talavera, which is built close up to the river, being taken as a fixed point, the Spaniards were placed in two lines, extending thence to the left, till they rested on a high mound, on which was a strong redoubt, behind which a brigade of British light cavalry was placed : all this front was covered by a convent, ditches, mud walls, breast-works, and felled trees : in the rear was placed the Spanish cavalry ; and their position, which was scarcely visible, seemed impregnable to attack. To the left of the mound stood brigadier general Campbell's division, formed in two lines ; next to which was that under general Sherbroke in one line, because Mackenzie's was still on the Alberche : still farther to the left stood the German legion, resting on the foot of a steep hill, which was the key of the whole position, and was occupied by troops under general Hill, and subsequently by those under colonel Donkin. The intire line, when completely displayed, was two miles in length ; its extreme left being bounded by a valley, and the front covered by a water-course : the main body of cavalry was formed in column behind the left. The British and Germans under arms amounted to 19,000 men, with thirty guns ; the Spaniards mustering about 34,000, with seventy guns : the enemy came on with eighty guns and about 50,000 men ; all being well-disciplined veteran troops, accustomed to act together.

After driving in the British outposts from a spot called the Casa de Salinas, where Sir A. Wellesley had a narrow escape from capture, the French columns followed briskly, and charged so impetuously, that the British brigades got into confusion : they lost 400 men, and were with difficulty saved from destruction by the exertions of the forty-fifth regiment, and some companies of the sixtieth, who let the retreating soldiers through their ranks, and boldly checked the pursuers. Victor, animated by this success, brought up fresh troops ; then, rapidly crossing the plain, and seizing on a hill in front of colonel Donkin's position, opened a heavy fire : meanwhile, a large body of cavalry

¹⁴ Napier, vol. ii. p. 382.

rode boldly up to the right, and fired with pistols on the Spaniards, to make them show their line; when those wretched troops gave a general discharge of small arms; and then, as if lost to all sense of shame, 10,000 infantry, and the artillery, throwing away their arms, fled to the rear in utter confusion: the panic was now spreading, and Cuesta himself was thinking of retreat; when Sir A. Wellesley, whom neither the errors of his allies nor the ingenuity of his enemies could baffle, flanked the main road with some British squadrons, and saved the position: the fugitives, however, with their commissaries, paymasters, and all other attendants on an army, ran off in terror, spreading the most disastrous reports, as far as Oropesa: at length, Cuesta, recovering from his first alarm, despatched a strong body of cavalry, which brought back some thousands of the infantry and a part of the artillery during the night; but the Spanish force was diminished by 6000 men, and the great redoubt in the centre was silent for want of guns. As the steep and rugged hill on the left of the British army was the grand point to gain; Victor, observing its crest unoccupied, attacked it vigorously about sunset; and though colonel Donkin's brigade made a brave resistance, his force was too weak to defend every part: many of the French, therefore, turning his left, gained possession of the summit: general Hill, advancing to his assistance, was wounded, and narrowly escaped being taken prisoner; but breaking from the grasp of the grenadier who had caught the bridle of his horse, he galloped down the steep; and meeting in his descent with the twenty-ninth regiment, he led them up instantly to the charge, and regained the lost ground: a more general attack was then made; and the flashes of musketry, in the darkness which had come on, exhibited the combatants at the short distance of about twenty yards from each other: for a time the issue was doubtful; but soon the well-known shout of the British was heard, rising above the din of war; the enemy was driven back at all points, leaving 1000 dead or wounded on the field, and causing a loss of 800 to their antagonists.

Each army was now illuminated by its bivouac fires; but the Spaniards, owing to some alarm, kept up a desultory discharge of musketry and cannon through the night, by which several of our officers and men were unfortunately slain. Victor, who had acquired a knowledge of the Spanish position, reported his failure to the king; but proposed that another attempt should be made at day-break so earnestly, that Joseph, in opposition to the sounder advice of marshal Jourdan, consented to the measure: accordingly, by sun-rise on the twenty-

eighth, the assault was renewed by general Ruffin's division, supported by that of Villatte, and preceded by a burst of artillery which swept away the English ranks by sections: this was followed by a regular discharge of musketry, and then battalion after battalion charged; and if any succeeded for a time, they were again repulsed, until the whole mass gradually gave way: at length, unable to sustain the opposing torrent, and having lost 1500 men in forty minutes, it broke away in utter disorder, and regained its former position under cover of a powerful artillery.

The British commander, now perceiving his error in not having prolonged his line across the valley, hastened to rectify it by bringing up the cavalry in great force behind his left, and placing general Bassecour's division of infantry, which he had obtained from Cuesta, on a mountain at the other side. The position being thus secured, marshal Jourdan strongly advised Joseph not to hazard another attack, but to take post behind the Alberche, and wait the effect of Soult's operations against the English rear: Victor however opposed this prudent counsel, engaging to carry the hill on the British left, provided the fourth corps would at the same time attack the right and centre. The king, though he coincided with Jourdan in opinion, and though the confidence of his troops was much shaken by the rough treatment they had just received, was yet so fearful of what the duke of Belluno might report of opportunities lost to Napoleon; and so afraid lest Vinegas, who was now threatening Madrid, might deprive him of the capital; that he determined to bring on a general action.

While the French commanders thus held council, the armies took some rest; but the British were suffering the extremity of hunger, having for some time had only a few ounces of wheat, in the grain, per man daily: the weather was intensely hot; and the troops on both sides descended, without fear or suspicion, and amicably quenched their thirst together at the little brook which divided the positions: but at one o'clock the sullen roll of the drum was heard through the French line, and the soldiers were seen gathering round the eagles: soon afterwards, the king's guards, the reserve, and the fourth corps, were descried in full march to join the first; while the ground on the French right, even to the valley, was covered with dark and lowering masses: the signal for battle was now given; and eighty pieces of artillery sent a tempest of bullets before the light troops, which, coming on rapidly, were closely followed by the compact columns. Sir Arthur was on the summit of the hill,

viewing the dispositions which he had made with so much skill and sagacity, when the fourth corps made an impetuous attack on general Campbell's division : assisted however by that of Mackenzie and two Spanish battalions, it met the charge with true British intrepidity, driving back the foe with great carnage and a loss of twenty guns : regular discharges of artillery and musketry then made dreadful havoc in their dense masses, and victory was secured in this quarter.

In the mean time, Villatte's division, preceded by the grenadiers, and supported by two regiments of light cavalry, advanced up the great valley on the left, while Ruffin was seen in full march toward the mountain beyond it : Sir A. Wellesley instantly ordered Anson's brigade of cavalry, composed of the twenty-third light dragoons, and the first German hussars, to charge the head of these columns : the regiments advanced at full speed ; but in a few minutes they arrived at a deep cleft in the ground : the French then, throwing themselves into squares, opened their fire ; when the Germans, under colonel Arentschild, a brave and experienced officer, promptly reined up at the brink : the more impetuous English regiment, in its hot blood, dashed down the chasm where it was less precipitous, though a large portion of horses and men rolled over each other in the descent. As the survivors clambered up the opposite bank, colonel Seymour their commander being severely wounded, they were rallied by major Frederic Ponsonby ; and passing through Villatte's columns, which opened a fire on each side, fell with inexpressible violence on a brigade of chasseurs in the rear : while thus engaged, they were attacked by the Polish lancers, and a regiment of Westphalian light horse : the contest then became too unequal ; the twenty-third was utterly broken by these fresh troops ; and the remnant fled to Bassecour's division, leaving behind them 207 officers and men.

During this time, the hill, the key of the whole line, was again vehemently attacked by Lapisse's division, aided by a large train of artillery, and a heavy battery, which played most destructively on the British ranks : under cover of this, the French battalions advanced close to general Sherbroke's division, as if determined to come up to the point of the bayonet ; but they were received with such a steady fire, that they soon gave way ; when the brigade of guards, under the excitement of the moment, quitted the line with inconsiderate ardor, to follow up their success : the enemy's supporting columns and dragoons then closed up ; the retreating columns turned again ; the heavy batteries played on the advancing line ; and the

guards drew back ; while the German legion, which was next them in position, was also thrown into confusion. At this moment, the centre of the British was absolutely broken, and the fortune of the day seemed inclining to the side of the French, when Sir A. Wellesley, whose penetrating eye this rash movement of the guards had not escaped, ordered the forty-fifth regiment down from the hill on the left, though a fierce conflict was going on at that point ; while Sir S. Cotton's light cavalry advanced to support them. This movement gained the day : the guards and Germans instantly rallied ; the British artillery played with uncommon effect on the enemy's flanks ; and Lapisse being mortally wounded, his division gave way : the whole army then finally retired to the position whence it had descended to the attack. The British troops, exhausted by famine more than fatigue, were unable to pursue their advantage ; and the Spaniards were incapable of any orderly movement : about six o'clock therefore, the conflict wholly ceased, each party holding the same ground which it had in the morning : but the battle was scarcely over, when, by some accident, the dry grass and shrubs became ignited ; and a volume of flame rolled in terrific course over a large portion of the field, miserably scorching those who lay extended on its blood-stained turf.

The result of this hard-fought battle to the English might be called a repulse of the enemy, rather than a victory : they lost near 5500 officers and men in killed, wounded, and missing ; while their antagonists left behind them more than 7000, with seventeen guns : two generals fell on each side : the Spaniards returned above 1200 men, as killed and wounded ; but the correctness of their report was much doubted. On the twenty-ninth, the French, quitting their position, retired behind the Alberche ; and on the same day, general Robert Craufurd arrived from Lisbon, with three regiments, which took charge of the British outposts : during their march, they had encountered crowds of runaway Spaniards, who propagated the most disastrous reports respecting the army : when they came up, they found that army victorious over their enemies, but sinking beneath the excruciating tortures of famine ; while sufficient corn was concealed at Talavera to supply the whole for a month. The Spaniards beheld this distress with perfect apathy ; and left an impression of contempt and hatred on the minds of their British allies, which was not effaced during the whole war : in the mean time, the savage Cuesta, whose indolence and ignorance had banished all discipline from his army,

was occupied in decimating his runaways; and the Spanish troops, together with the inhabitants, were traversing the field of battle, to beat out the brains of wounded Frenchmen; thus leaving an implacable desire of revenge in the enemy, of which their unfortunate country reaped the bitter fruits.

Sir A. Wellesley had marched up the valley of the Tagus, misled, like Sir John Moore, by false reports of patriotic enthusiasm; expecting to be joined by an effective army under Cuesta; supposing also that the Spaniards in the north had sufficient force to keep Soult employed; and concluding that three French corps under three marshals never could have been assembled at Salamanca, without the knowledge of the governor of Ciudad Rodrigo, or the junta of Castile: yet on all these points he was mistaken. After the hard-earned victory at Talavera, almost every advantage remained with the French. King Joseph, on the first of August, occupied a strong central position at Illescas, between the army of Vinegas and the capital; Victor remained in force behind the Alberche; and Soult, with troops more numerous than those of the king and Victor united, having burst through the Col de Baños, occupied Plasencia, in the rear of the British. At this moment, the fate of the peninsula hung on a very slender thread: communications having taken place between Joseph and the duke of Dalmatia, above 90,000 men were put in motion, just as Sir A. Wellesley became acquainted with the real danger of his situation. Cuesta, having abandoned the sick in hospital at Talavera, now proposed the most absurd schemes; but Sir Arthur made no farther concession to his humors, sternly declaring his intention to move instantly, and leave the Spanish general to act according to his own fancy: he therefore retired, with his whole force, to the other side of the Tagus, over the bridge of Arzobispo; having first safely conveyed across it a considerable portion of his wounded men and stores. The sick at Talavera were recommended to the care of marshal Victor, who nobly fulfilled the duty thus imposed on him by his antagonist. From Arzobispo the army inclined toward Deleytoza; and general Craufurd's brigade was directed to effect its retreat by a forced march to the bridge of Almaraz, which he fortunately accomplished: Soult, in the mean time, thinking that he had enclosed the British, as it were, in a net, came on with full confidence of victory; but found only Cuesta's army engaged in the passage of the bridge of Arzobispo. That wretched old man seemed at this moment devoted to destruction; for Victor's division, having crossed the Tagus at Tala-

vera, was also coming down to attack him in flank: but leaving a large force to defend the passage at Arzobispo, he moved toward the British position; and when Soult defeated his rear-guard, the others were saved, because Ney was unable to discover a ford below Almaraz, and king Joseph had recalled Victor's corps, to support the fourth, opposed to Vinegas. On the eleventh of August, the British army was at Jaraicejo, in a position which enabled them to guard the ford of Almaraz; while the Spaniards occupied an impregnable post to their right on the heights of the Meza d'Ibor: at this time, Cuesta resigned his command, and was succeeded by general Eguia: no change of commanders however could change the disposition or character of the Spaniards.

The duke of Dalmatia, being thus thwarted in his plans, conceived that Sir A. Wellesley would endeavor to repass the Tagus at Alcantara, in order to form a junction with Beresford, and a corps of 5000 men under general Catlin Craufurd, which was on the frontiers of Portugal: but marshal Ney, considering a hasty invasion of that kingdom to be a very hazardous experiment, absolutely refused to concur in it; especially as Salamanca was again in possession of the insurgent Spaniards; which city now presented itself as the proper object of attack: his reasoning was approved by the king; who was confirmed in this opinion by despatches lately received from Napoleon, prohibiting any farther offensive operations in Spain, until the reinforcements should arrive, which his recent victory at Wagram enabled him to send.

Two days after the battle of Talavera, the marquis Wellesley superseded Mr. Frere as envoy extraordinary in Spain: had he arrived at an earlier period, the result might have been different; for his talents and authority with the junta might have procured for his brother the chief command of the Spanish as well as the British troops. In the mean time, the army of Vinegas, consisting of 2500 cavalry, 22,000 infantry, and forty pieces of artillery, the best provided and best officered native force in Spain, was utterly routed with immense loss at Almonacid, by generals Sebastiani and Dessolles, under king Joseph in person: the remnant took shelter in the Sierra Morena; and his majesty returned triumphantly to the capital, having stationed the first and fourth corps at Toledo and Aranjuez.

The Anglo-Spanish army however still retained its positions at Jaraicejo and Deleytoza; while Sir Arthur Wellesley, knowing that Ney had retired toward Salamanca, and miscalcu-

lating the French forces, entertained hopes of again acting on the offensive; especially as marshal Beresford had reached Moraleja with about 14,000 Portuguese; and 5000 British troops were stationed on the frontiers. If Soult, therefore, invaded Portugal, the English general intended to follow him; but if the French kept their present position, he meant to recross the Tagus, and, in conjunction with the Portuguese, to fall on their right at Plasencia. He was taking measures to execute his designs, when the bad faith and conduct of the Spanish government and its generals again obliged him to provide solely for the safety of his own men: the governing party in Spain seemed to have concerted a plan for starving their allies; and this at length proceeded so far, that 'the Spanish cavalry actually intercepted the provisions and forage destined for the English army, and fired on the foragers as if they had been enemies.'¹⁵ Before the middle of August, nearly half our horses became unserviceable; and our ammunition was given to the Spaniards, because carts were required to convey the sick. When the Portuguese army passed the frontiers, it met with similar treatment; nay, the cabildo of Ciudad Rodrigo seized on the very magazines which Sir Arthur Wellesley had established there; taking their contents as security for a pretended debt, and refusing to allow a single ration to the famished soldiers.

Such was the state of affairs, when the supreme junta gave to Sir Arthur the rank of captain-general; pressing him to renew offensive operations, but without making the slightest change in their own system: the British general however saw that Spain was no longer a place for his army, and informed the junta that he should retire immediately into Portugal. They received this intelligence with consternation, and tried every possible method to alter his resolution; but all in vain; for his views were no longer thwarted by diplomatic agency. On the twentieth of August, he commenced his retreat, pursued by every species of calumny which disappointed ambition could invent; and when this did not disturb his equanimity, the supreme junta, against whom the tide of popular discontent now began to set, made the most flattering offers to engage him on their side; but their vile political intrigues could not shake his determination: refusing their offers, as he had despised their libels, he continued his march; and, in the

¹⁵ See Napier, vol. ii. p. 432., and his authorities quoted in the Appendix.

beginning of September, distributed his troops in Badajos, Elvas, and other places on the Guadiana, inflamed with indignation at the vile treatment they had experienced from their allies: the brigades already in Portugal were then brought up; the lost ammunition and stores being replaced from magazines existing in that country: but so weak and extenuated were the frames of our unfortunate soldiers from fatigue and bad nourishment, that when a fever, common to the country, broke out among them, above 5000 perished by its ravages. The manner in which this eventful campaign had been conducted by the British army was duly appreciated in England: the thanks of parliament were voted to its officers and men, while their distinguished commander was created viscount Wellington, of Talavera.

It now remains only to notice briefly some operations in other parts of the peninsula. While Galicia and the Asturias were in a state of comparative tranquillity, the guerilla system of the Partidas sprang up in Biscay and Navarre, but more especially in Arragon and Catalonia, where many discomfited and dispersed soldiers flocked to the standards of celebrated leaders: nor was it long before these roving bands were augmented both by French and English deserters; but, being inured to systematic cruelty, they became almost as terrible to their own countrymen as to the stragglers of the French army. Suchet had nearly reduced Arragon and Valencia to submission, when he was called off to quell a formidable insurrection in Navarre: in this he succeeded, and eventually captured Mina, one of the most celebrated guerilla chieftains, but was unable to suppress the system: Espoz y Mina took the place of his nephew, and continued, with extraordinary success, harassing and disturbing the French lines of communication to the very end of the war. In Catalonia, the heroic city of Gerona still held out against the efforts of Verdier, aided by the operations of marshal St. Cyr; but the incapacity of the Spanish general, Blake, commanding the Catalonian army, rendered the noble conduct of its garrison unavailing: the strong places in its vicinity, Montjuic and Palamos, had fallen to the French arms; and though the gallant Garcia Conde had introduced a convoy into Gerona itself, yet Blake neglected every opportunity of raising the siege. At length, St. Cyr retired to Perpignan; marshal Augereau undertook the conduct of the war in this quarter; and, at the end of October, the strong fortress of Hostalrich, with a garrison of 2000 men, and abundance of stores and provisions, was taken

by storm almost in sight of Blake's army. As a counterpoise to this loss, admiral Martin, on the twenty-third of October, intercepted, between Toulon and Barcelona, a French squadron of three ships of the line, two frigates, and sixteen large store-ships : during the chase, several of the latter were burned by the enemy ; others were driven ashore in different places ; when two of the line-of-battle ships and a frigate were burnt by their crews ; and the store ships, which took refuge in the bay of Rosas, under protection of the batteries, were wholly destroyed by the boats of captain Halloway's squadron, notwithstanding a desperate resistance, which cost the British seventy men in killed and wounded. Meanwhile, the distress of Gerona increased ; sickness and famine were within its crumbling walls ; all its outward defences were in possession of the enemy ; and its noble-minded governor, Alvarez, was seized with a delirious fever : a council of war then assembled ; and, after six months of open trenches, the garrison capitulated on the tenth of December. ' Its fall,' says colonel Napier, with great truth, ' was a reproach both to the Spanish and English cabinets : the latter, having agents in Catalonia, and such a man as lord Collingwood in the Mediterranean to refer to, were yet so ignorant of what was essential to the success of the war, as to let Gerona struggle for six months ; when half the troops employed by Sir John Stuart to alarm Naples, if they had been carried to the coast of Catalonia and landed at Palamos, would have raised the siege.'

Soon after Sir Arthur Wellesley had withdrawn his troops to the frontiers of Portugal, popular discontent against the supreme junta increased to such a degree, that a plot was formed to seize its members, and transport them to Manilla. The displeasure which the marquis Wellesley had openly manifested against this body on account of their scandalous proceedings, induced the conspirators to make him acquainted with their designs, in the hope of obtaining his sanction and assistance : that nobleman however, being an accredited envoy to the existing government, considered himself bound in honor to apprise it of its danger, without mentioning the names of any engaged in the plot. The junta, in great alarm, now proposed a scheme of government, adapted to obtain a momentary popularity, but totally unconnected with any large or liberal views of policy : this project was foiled by Romana, who drew up a strong charge against his colleagues, and proposed the appointment of a regency, comprising five persons, who were not members of the junta ; this council to be assisted by

a newly chosen junta, composed also of five members and a procurator-general; one to be a South American; and the whole to represent the Cortes, until the meeting of that assembly, which he thought should be as soon as possible. To evade this proposal, the supreme junta announced that the national Cortes should be convoked on the first of January, 1810, and assemble for business on the first of March following: having thus endeavored to allay public indignation, they resolved to recommence offensive operations, by the success of which they fondly hoped to establish their own popularity and power. Out of the remnants of their broken and dispersed armies they soon raised a body of 50,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry, which the enormous accumulation of English stores and money at Seville and Cadiz enabled them to equip: these troops were placed under the command of Eguia, who advanced with them a short distance into La Mancha; but when the enemy appeared in force, he retired into the Sierra Morena, and took post at Carolina. In the mean time, the duke del Parque, being reinforced by 800 cavalry sent by Bassecour, and the Gallician divisions of 13,000 men under Mendizabel and Carrera, while Ballasteros was hastening to join him with 8000 more, became eager to act against the sixth French corps; for which purpose he earnestly requested the co-operation of the Portuguese army: his proposal being referred to lord Wellington, that great commander, in a clear and comprehensive report, gave the most powerful and convincing reasons possible against the adoption of such a plan: his arguments however had no effect on the Spanish general or junta; who, in return, demanded a positive and definite answer as to the time when the Portuguese army would be in a condition to act with the Spaniards in the Spanish territories. His lordship's reply was in the following terms:—'When there shall be a Spanish army with which the Portuguese can co-operate on some defined plan, which all parties will have the means, and will engage to carry into execution, as far as any person can engage to execute a military operation;—when means shall be pointed out and fixed for the subsistence of the Portuguese troops while they remain in Spain, so that they may not starve, and be obliged to retire for want of food, as was the case when they were lately in that country.' Here ended the negociation: the duke del Parque commenced operations by himself; and, being attacked by general Marchand, before his junction with Ballasteros, he actually discomfited that general at Tamames,

taking a French eagle, one cannon, and several hundred prisoners : being then joined by Ballasteros, he pursued his foes to the vicinity of Salamanca ; but retired before Kellerman, who had brought up strong reinforcements from Valladolid, and finally took refuge in Bejar.

While these events occurred in Castile, the supreme junta were commencing an enterprise of unparalleled temerity. Having displaced Eguia, and discovered in general Areizaga a commander as presumptuous as they could expect, and as imbecile as their enemies could wish, they placed him at the head of the grand army of La Mancha, and ordered him to drive the French out of Madrid : this however it was much easier to order than to effect. Areizaga commenced a reckless march, ignorant of the French movements or numbers, and blind to all that was passing around him, till his vanguard received a severe check from Sebastiani at Dos Barrios : then it was, that, beginning to feel some misgiving, he communicated his doubts to the supreme junta, who eagerly demanded the assistance of the British army, and sent orders to the dukes del Parque and Albuquerque to bring up their forces : the latter immediately put 10,000 men in motion for that purpose ; but though lord Wellington, who had proved the military qualities both of the French and Spaniards, absolutely refused to co-operate in this rash enterprise, the junta without hesitation declared both to their generals and to the public, that he was actually on his march. The consequences of these measures might easily have been foreseen : during the delay at Dos Barrios the French forces were concentrated from every quarter : and what but defeat could be expected from the encounter of such generals as Areizaga and Albuquerque with Soult, Victor, and Sebastiani ? After a foretaste of disaster in a combat of cavalry, the great battle of Ocaña took place, in which the French, with a trifling loss of 1700 killed and wounded, scattered an army of more than 50,000 men like chaff before the wind. Five thousand Spaniards were left on the field of battle ; and ere the shades of night descended, all the baggage, with 3000 horses and mules, forty-five pieces of artillery, 30,000 muskets, and 26,000 prisoners, were in the hands of the conquerors !

Soon afterwards, the army of the duke del Parque, consisting of 30,000 men, which had the audacity to threaten the sixth corps, was dispersed by Kellerman at Alba de Tormes ; and though about 20,000 of them were rallied by their commander in the mountains behind Tamames, they were without artillery ;

and very few had preserved their muskets: such also was their distress for provisions, that when the British arrived on the northern frontier two months afterwards, the peasantry still spoke with horror of the sufferings of that famished soldiery: they died in vast numbers; yet the mass neither dispersed nor murmured; for the patience of the Spaniards under suffering equalled their pusillanimity on the field of battle. The result of these rash enterprises fully justified lord Wellington's advice to the Spanish government; but that body still continued to receive his counsels with insolent contempt: having therefore, at an enormous sacrifice of life, saved Andalusia from invasion, and having kept his position on the Guadiana longer than his own judgment would have dictated; being induced to remain by the earnest entreaty of his brother, who had not fully penetrated into the character of the supreme junta; he marched from Badajos, released himself for ever from the machinations of Spanish juntas, and laid in Portugal the foundation of those grand measures which finally carried him triumphant through the peninsula.

While this contest was going on in Spain, where the most pusillanimous armies in the world, though continually defeated and dispersed, still sprang up again, like the heads of a hydra, to baffle and disappoint the best of Napoleon's generals, he himself was advancing from the field of Essling to the gates of Vienna; into which city he entered about a month after the Austrians had commenced hostilities. He now sent forth from his imperial camp a decree, revoking the grant of territory made to the pope by his 'august predecessor Charlemagne,' and annexing Rome to the French empire; the sovereign pontiff being allowed to remain there as bishop, with a revenue of 2,000,000 francs. Pius VII. however, determining to employ the only arms in his power, opposed this decree of aggression by a bull of excommunication; and it is said that Napoleon received the intelligence with a considerable degree of anxiety: as his continental system was contrary to nature, so his ecclesiastical system was contrary to conscience: he felt this; but it was not his nature to recede, especially after he had entered on a wrong course: orders therefore were issued, under which the holy father was seized in his palace, and transported, with circumstances of great hardship and indignity, over Mount Cenis, to Savona: there, refusing all compliance with the tyrant's demands, he lived three years, partly on a prison allowance, and partly on alms; until in June, 1812, he was dragged a prisoner to Fontainebleau: but he who bent all, was unable to bend this

aged prelate, or to restore harmony between the church and state. In the mean time, the Danube alone separated those immense armies, which were contending, the one for supremacy, the other for independence. The day at Aspern proved that he, who deemed himself invincible, might be conquered. All Europe was now excited by the most anxious expectation ; but the victory was not improved : repulsed and cooped up in the island of Lobau, Napoleon was allowed time to escape, and recover his advantage : he crossed the river a second time, and fought the deadly battle of Wagram, from which resulted the peace of Vienna. This deprived the Austrian monarchy of three millions and a half of its subjects, in the Illyrian, Carinthian, Hungarian, and Croatian provinces ceded to France—Saltzburg, Berchtolsgaden, and other districts to Bavaria—all western Galicia to the king of Saxony—and a large district in eastern Galicia to the emperor of Russia, who condescended to enrich himself at the expense of his old and impoverished ally : obliged also to receive unconditionally the continental system, Austria promised to break off all relations with England, and to acknowledge the changes that might be made in Spain, Portugal, and Italy. Hard conditions these, after so honorable a struggle ! Cut off wholly from the sea, deprived of her Alpine bulwarks, with distracted finances, and open boundaries surrounded by armed states on the north, south, and west, little hope seemed left to the house of Hapsburg ; on which the last indignity was now passed, when a daughter of that ancient dynasty was demanded by its conqueror, to grace his triumph, and to share his throne. With the loss of Austrian independence, that of Europe seemed tottering to its fall ; while a future catastrophe for the Ottoman empire lay in the peace of Vienna, which brought France into immediate contact with its north-eastern provinces : the incapacity and rashness of Gustavus IV. reduced Sweden also to the brink of ruin : that monarch was deposed in March, and the government committed to his uncle, the duke of Sudermania, under the title of Charles XIII. ; Christian Augustus, prince of Holstein Augustenburg, being adopted as his eventual successor : negotiations were then opened with Russia ; by which Sweden ceded to her antagonist the principality of Finland, with the isles of Aland, and promised adherence to the continental system. At the close of the year, the whole continent, with the exception of the peninsula, was in a state of tranquillity : but how fallacious was that calm ! By wars and pacifications, by the subversion and erection of thrones, and by alliances with

the imperial house of Buonaparte, a system of universal sovereignty was sought to be established: but experience soon proved how vain were such hopes; for in Great Britain there existed a power that was destined to destroy them, and to show that universal dominion by land cannot exist independently of that by sea. Though the whole line of coast, from the Pyrenees to the Elbe, guarded by revenue officers and *gens d'armes* of France, might aggravate the difficulties of interdicted commerce, they could not annihilate it: at the same time, not a French ship of war could show itself with impunity out of harbor, as appeared by the destruction of the squadron on the coast of Catalonia: nay, even in harbor they were not safe; as was proved by the gallant achievement of lord Cochrane, who, with a small flotilla, accompanied by some fire-ships, attacked the Brest fleet, which had run into Basque roads, at the mouth of the Charente, under the protection of strong batteries. He there drove on shore and destroyed three line-of-battle ships, and one of fifty-six guns; the rest moving higher up the river, where it was impracticable to molest them. With respect to islands and colonies, few years were comparatively more disastrous to France. In the West Indies, the colony of Cayenne, under the government of Victor Hugues, fell an easy conquest to a combined attack by British and Portuguese troops. The important island of Martinique being invaded in a very inclement season, Mont Sourrier and some other posts were stormed; when Fort Bourbon being laid completely open, its garrison capitulated after a fierce bombardment. A serious sacrifice of life attended this success; but when the city of Domingo was besieged by general Carmichael, and recovered for our Spanish allies, no such loss occurred. On the coast of Africa, Senegal and Goree fell before our arms; and in the Mediterranean, the important isles of Zante, Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Cerigo, which, with the rest of the Ionian republic, had been ceded to France at the peace of Presburg, now acknowledged the British flag.

But more especially in the peninsula, the power of Great Britain was beginning to develop itself, as a great antagonist principle to the usurpation of France. We had in that country a warrior equal to contend in the field against Napoleon himself: hitherto, indeed, he had been betrayed by the corrupt governments of Spain and Portugal, and faintly supported by his own; but the time was now approaching, when the British cabinet, freed from the incapacity of Castlereagh and the intrigues of Canning, seconded him with a better zeal;

until, catching a portion of his spirit, they placed the whole resources of the nation at his disposal, and enabled him to tread the soil of France as a conqueror. The circumstances that led to this change in affairs are now to be detailed.

While the contest was hot between France and Austria, the British cabinet prepared two expeditions; the first against Naples, under Sir John Stuart, to please the miserable court of Palermo; the second against Antwerp, for the purpose of destroying Napoleon's maritime preparations in the Scheldt; though each had a secondary object, to create a diversion in favor of the Austrian emperor: both completely failed. Murat had ample notice of the Sicilian expedition, during four months' preparation; and defeated every attempt to obtain a footing, or to excite insurrection in his kingdom; though bands of ruffians and desperadoes were thrown on the coast, where, under the pretext of war, they committed such atrocities, that the British military and naval commanders thought it necessary to disavow them.

The armament destined for the Scheldt, was, like the other, so long in preparation, that it came too late: some days before it sailed, news arrived of the Austrian defeat at Wagram; yet, instead of altering its destination, and sending it to the peninsula, which might thus have been liberated at once from French intrusion, the British cabinet, more conversant with parliamentary intrigues than with military or political combinations, obstinately persisted in their first design.

This expedition, the largest and most complete that ever left the shores of Britain, originated with lord Castlereagh; and by it he has condemned his memory to perpetual remembrance, though unaccompanied with that species of renown, which he anticipated from a design, surpassing, in his own imagination, the most brilliant conceptions of Napoleon.

In July, a British fleet assembled at the Downs, consisting of thirty-nine sail of the line, thirty-six frigates, and a proportional accompaniment of gun-boats, bomb-vessels, and smaller craft: the troops which it was intended to convoy amounted nearly to 40,000; making, together with seamen and marines, a sum total of 100,000 men. The imposing magnificence of this mighty force drew thousands of spectators to witness its departure; among whom was the projector of the expedition, with a large assemblage of ministers and their friends: but while joy and hope filled all hearts, the angel of death was hovering over an ill-fated multitude, doomed to perish, not on the glorious battle-field, but by the consuming breath of a

noisome pestilence. Incapacity marked the whole proceeding: it was intended to be a *secret* expedition; but even in April, its destination was disclosed to the enemy, who took all possible means to fortify Flushing, and secure their naval arsenals on the Scheldt. So little was the nature of the climate known, that no supply of proper medicines was ever thought of: but, worst of all! the chief military command was given to a man, whose name was proverbial for sloth and inactivity: this was lord Chatham, brother to William Pitt: he was in very embarrassed circumstances, which a lucrative command might improve; and he was a favorite with the court, which cruelly demanded a sacrifice of national interests and national glory for his private emolument. On the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth of July, this mighty armament, the chief naval command of which was given to admiral Sir Richard Strachan, got under weigh, and stood for the coast of Holland: the original intention was to proceed up the West Scheldt; and with that view, two preparatory operations were planned; to destroy the batteries on the isle of Cadsand; and, in a descent on South Beveland, storm or seize those in that quarter, which might obstruct the progress of the fleet; but the violence of the wind drove the whole armament toward the East Scheldt: it was then proposed to disembark near Domburg, on the isle of Walcheren; and when this was prevented by a heavy swell, it became expedient to take shelter in the road of Veer, where a succession of heavy gales for many days rendered it impossible to recur to the former scheme. The fleet being skillfully conducted through a narrow and difficult passage, the troops effected a landing near a fort, which was quickly abandoned by its garrison.

As the chief town of the island was readily given up to the invaders, the reduction of Flushing was the only object which retarded the progress of the fleet: but at that place the enemy had concentrated his forces, to oppose the British advance: it was accordingly attacked, though the siege was carried on some days before the wind would permit a naval blockade to be formed; and lord Chatham then seemed disposed to leave the conduct of the assault to his second in command, and proceed to Batz, where Sir John Hope was stationed with his division, anxiously waiting for assistance: after some delay, however, a flotilla proceeded by the Sloe passage into the West Scheldt; and on the thirteenth of August, the batteries being completed, and the frigates and smaller vessels having taken the stations assigned to them, the bombardment commenced: the

place suffered dreadfully from shells and Congreve rockets ; and on the following day, the ships of the line, after a cannonade of several hours, succeeded in silencing the forts : next morning, general Monnet demanded a suspension of hostilities for a few hours ; at the expiration of which, he surrendered the town, with a garrison of 6000 men.

Although the expedition was thus far successful ; yet the want of skill and vigor in conducting the attack, and the confusion that existed in the various departments, soon became subjects of free animadversion : it was also observed, that the island of Cadsand, the only place whence the enemy could receive supplies or reinforcements, was left unoccupied ; and as the naval force had not intercepted the communication, advantage had been taken of this omission to transport 3000 men from thence to Walcheren : in the mean time, a large force was collected at Antwerp, composed of national guards of the Belgic provinces, and those nearest to them in France : the forts on the Scheldt were well manned ; Bernadotte arrived, and put Antwerp into a state of complete defence ; while preparations were made for carrying the fleet still higher up the river, in case the British should succeed in forcing a passage.

Lord Chatham should now have immediately returned, or the ministers should have recalled him ; for what benefit could arise from the possession of Walcheren ? but the evil star of both prevailed ; and in the vain hope of supporting the interest of the Austrian emperor, who had not yet concluded the treaty of Vienna, the island was retained. Our troops were soon attacked with the dreadful endemic fever of the country ; and trifling as had been our losses from fire and sword, it is well known that this was the most fatal contest in which a British army ever was engaged : nearly one half was taken off by disease, while the greater part of the remainder carried its effects with them to the grave : the dead were buried by night, (a precaution hitherto adopted only in the plague) in order to conceal the frightful spectacle. Lord Chatham returned to England with part of his force on the fourteenth of September : in one month from that time the treaty of Vienna was signed ; but a long time was still suffered to elapse, even after all cause for remaining in this pestilential climate was removed ; since Mr. Perceval contended that the malady invariably ceased in November. At length, when this information was found incorrect, the few surviving troops that were able to work were employed in demolishing the defences and basin of Flushing ; which

done, the feeble remnant of our magnificent army re-embarked in sight of an enemy, who, being aware that the ravages of disease would render attack unnecessary, had taken no means to expel the invaders.¹⁶

The ill success of this and other measures produced not only dissatisfaction in the nation, but discord among the ministers themselves: on the twenty-first of September, a hostile meeting took place between lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning; when, after two shots had been exchanged, and the latter had received his antagonist's ball in his right thigh, an end was put to the murderous and disgraceful scene. This duel was preceded by a letter from lord Castlereagh to Mr. Canning, in which his lordship accused the foreign secretary of clandestinely endeavoring to procure his removal from office, on the ground of incapacity, although he continued to sit with him in the same cabinet: many statements and counterstatements of the case were put forth; but the facts will scarcely bear out the charge of duplicity brought by the noble lord against his colleague. It appears, that Mr. Canning, convinced of lord Castlereagh's unfitness for the duties of a war minister, tendered to the duke of Portland, during the Easter recess, the alternative of his lordship's removal to another department, or his own resignation: he also caused this representation to be made known to lord Camden, a relative and friend of lord Castlereagh; with a wish of its being communicated to the minister who was its object. The strong desire felt by the duke and lord Camden to consult lord Castlereagh's feelings, induced them to postpone this communication, until his lordship should be prepared for it by his friends; but in such a concealment Mr. Canning was so far from acquiescing, that he strongly remonstrated against it, and frequently tendered his resignation to the king; but was still persuaded to continue in office at the express request of lord Castlereagh's associates, who proposed several arrangements, in order to reconcile his feelings to a change. In the mean time, some officious person, by a breach of confidence, informed him that his colleague had demanded his dismissal: on which, his lordship, in the moment of irritation, and consulting only his

¹⁶ The classical reader will recognise a singular coincidence of circumstances common to this, and the still more fatal Athenian expedition: the splendor of its appearance in the Piræus; the crowds that went to view it; the confidence of its projectors; the imbecility of its commander; the fatal fever from the Lysimelian marsh; and its total discomfiture!

wounded pride, challenged Mr. Canning, without reflecting that his own friends were responsible for that concealment, which alone gave him a plea for demanding satisfaction. Before the duel, both ministers had resigned their offices; and the duke of Portland followed their example, on account of his age and infirmities: the remaining members of the cabinet looked about in dismay for new colleagues and a new head: their situation appeared so forlorn, that proposals were sent to lords Grey and Grenville, for the purpose of forming an extended and combined administration: but those noble persons absolutely declined to accept office; the latter observing, 'that his objections were not personal; but they applied to the principles of the government itself, and to the circumstances which attended its appointment.' In consequence of this refusal, Mr. Perceval added the office of first lord of the treasury to that which he held as chancellor of the exchequer; the marquis Wellesley was recalled from his Spanish embassy to take charge of the foreign department; lord Liverpool, who had lately succeeded to this title on the death of his father, was transferred from the home department to that of war and the colonies, Mr. Ryder being appointed his successor; and lord Palmerston was appointed secretary at war, in the room of Sir James Pulteney.

The events of this disastrous year shook the popularity of ministers; but they were fortunate in being able to divert public attention from a disgraceful expedition, which increased the debt by twenty millions, and covered thousands of people with mourning, to national rejoicings in honor of the sovereign. On the twenty-fifth of October, George III. commenced the fiftieth year of his reign; and the day was celebrated as a jubilee, with thanksgivings, feasts, and illuminations throughout the British dominions. These loyal demonstrations, however, were mingled with deep sympathy for the king, now laboring under the infirmities of age, and afflicted with almost total blindness; yet engaged in war against a power, which had shaken every throne in Europe, except his own, to its very foundation.

The name of the princess of Wales came again this year before the public. Having by an extravagant expenditure exceeded her large income of £22,000, which had been assisted by a grant of £34,000 from the droits of the admiralty, she became subjected to the unpleasant importunity of creditors; while her friend, Mr. Perceval, could not, under such circumstances, make any application to the house of commons. In this case, the prince, her husband, came forward in a manner

creditable to himself; undertaking to pay the whole sum, though his own embarrassments had considerably increased, on condition that he should be no longer considered liable to such payment; and that the tradesmen of the princess, like his own, should be obliged to send in their claims within a specified time.

Various were the events, some of an alarming, others of a cheering character, which contributed to render this year memorable in our annals: among the former, may be reckoned the terrible conflagrations that occurred in the metropolis. Last year, one of our great national theatres, in Covent-garden, had been destroyed by fire; and now, the other in Drury-lane experienced a similar fate. The accident occurred on the night of the twenty-fourth of February, while the commons were occupied in discussing the subject of the Spanish war; Mr. Sheridan, whose whole property was involved in the concern, being present with an intention of speaking. The house became suddenly illuminated by the blaze; and the cause being ascertained by several members who rushed out, a motion was made to adjourn the debate; but Mr. Sheridan, with great calmness, observed, that 'whatever might be the extent of private calamity, he hoped it would not interfere with the public business of the country.' He then left the house; and, proceeding to Drury-lane, witnessed, with a fortitude that strongly interested all who beheld him, the entire destruction of his property.¹⁷ A short time before this calamity, St. James's palace was discovered to be in flames: the fire burst out about two o'clock in the morning of the twenty-first of January, at the south-east angle; and the inhabitants were soon afterwards seen rushing out, half-naked, in all directions. Though every exertion was made to stop the conflagration, which in about two hours illuminated great part of the metropolis, a large portion of this venerable pile was destroyed; the damage being estimated at more than £100,000. Nor were such ravages confined either to public buildings, or to the capital: the splendid mansion of the honorable Frederic North, in St. James's-place, was destroyed in July, during the owner's absence in Malta; and the exertions of his friend, Mr. Windham, in saving the valuable library from destruction, occasioned the loss of that eminent statesman to the kingdom. On the third of March, about midnight, flames arose from the south-west angle of the front of Christ Church, in Oxford:

¹⁷ Moore's Life of Sheridan, vol. ii. p. 368.

fortunately however the night was calm, and the supply of water plentiful; or the noble hall of that magnificent structure must have been destroyed. The amount of damage exceeded £12,000; the only loss that was irreparable falling on Dr. White, whose precious collection of oriental manuscripts suffered a serious diminution.

But if the fiery element laid in ruins many of our noble edifices, it more than compensated these losses by the lasting benefit which it conferred on the community; since the use of gas in lighting streets and houses was now adopted in Pall Mall. The excellence of this invention is but faintly seen in the advancement of domestic comfort and convenience: its utility in exposing and preventing crime, or aiding the police in our crowded cities, under the peculiar circumstances of the age, place it in the light of a providential discovery. Nor must the institution of a national vaccine establishment be omitted, which was set on foot in April, under the patronage of the king and parliament, for the promotion of a system, which promises to repair the ravages both of war and pestilence. For the relief of human suffering, though in a less degree, captain Manby, of the royal navy, during the same month, made several successful experiments, with a small mortar, to throw a coiled rope over stranded vessels; whereby a communication with the shore may be gained, and the crews preserved. A project also, of great importance to agricultural and manufacturing interests, was executed by the patriotism of the king: taking advantage of our peculiar relations with Spain, his majesty introduced into his kingdom a large flock of the finest Merino sheep from that country, within the limits of which they had been hitherto confined with a scrupulous and rigid jealousy. Several other incidents contributed to render this period remarkable; among which, was the Herculean task accomplished by captain Barclay, of walking 1000 miles in 1000 successive hours: he finished his last mile in the first quarter, with great ease and spirit, amidst an immense concourse of spectators; winning £3000 by his feat, on which the aggregate amount of betting exceeded £100,000. The twenty-first of June was marked by the death of the celebrated Daniel Lambert, which took place at Stamford: he was in his fortieth year, and weighed fifty-two stone eleven pounds: his coffin, six feet four inches long by four feet four inches wide, was built on two axletrees and four clog wheels; and the wall of the room in which he lay being taken down, the corpse was rolled to the grave, and lowered into it by means of an inclined plane.

Before we conclude the list of events interesting or important to Great Britain, we must advert to the more decided character which the disagreement existing between this country and America now began to assume. Both countries indeed professed an anxiety for the revival of amicable relations; and, with the intent of removing irritation, the British orders in council were so far modified, in the beginning of April, as to allow neutral vessels to trade with any port whatever, unless it was in a state of actual blockade; the blockade being confined to France, Holland, and the ports of Italy under French dominion. About the time when these regulations were issued, an assurance was given by the honorable D. M. Erskine, British envoy in America, that the orders in council of January and November, 1807, would be withdrawn, as far as they concerned the United States, on the tenth of June; under a persuasion that the president would renew the intercourse with Great Britain. In virtue of this assurance, Mr. Madison immediately issued a proclamation, announcing that the trade between England and America would be renewed on the tenth of June: this pleasing prospect however vanished, when it was discovered, that the arrangements entered into by Mr. Erskine with the American president were unauthorised by his instructions, and could not be carried into effect. Previously to these, the American government, finding that the embargo pressed heavily on every part of the community, had raised it with regard to all other nations, and substituted in its stead a prohibitory system of non-intercourse and non-importation towards England and France; with this reservation, however, that if either of those belligerent powers should so revoke or modify its edicts, that they ceased to violate the commercial rights of the United States, trade with that country should be immediately renewed. As a number of American vessels, relying on the unratified arrangements, had set sail for Europe, the orders of council were suspended in their favor, and Mr. Jackson was appointed to succeed Mr. Erskine as minister to the United States: the discussions however which ensued took so unfavorable a turn, that he soon retired from Washington to New York, having received notice that no farther communications from him would be attended to. Thus the seeds of dissension between Great Britain and her still irritated colonies were ripening fast into a new war.

CHAP. LI.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1810.

Opening of parliament—Address, and debates on it—Carried in favor of ministers—Motion carried for a committee of inquiry—Exclusion of strangers from the gallery of the house of commons—Lord Chatham's conduct reprehended—Lord Porchester's resolutions respecting ministers negatived; and a vote of approval carried—Proceedings of Sir Francis Burdett, in consequence of which he is committed to the Tower, &c.—Navy estimates—Bills against granting offices in reversion, and for a finance committee—Mr. Horner's motion for a bullion committee carried—Pension to lord Wellington—Proposals of Sir Samuel Romilly to alter the criminal law—The budget—Petition of the Irish catholics rejected; also a motion for parliamentary reform—Lord Grey's motion in the lords for an address to his majesty on the state of the nation rejected—Addresses on the slave-trade—Twelfth report of the commission of military inquiry—Prorogation of parliament—The king's illness—Causes assigned for it, in public agitation, the affair of the duke of Cumberland, and the death of the princess Amelia—Meeting of parliament—Precedent of 1788 followed—Mr. Perceval's three resolutions—Debates on them—Determination of parliament to proceed by bill in the formation of a regency—Restricted regency accepted by the prince of Wales—Protest of the royal dukes—Proceedings of parliament in this affair—Regency bill passed—Affairs of the continent—Causes of Napoleon's declining power, when his prospects seemed most bright—Great crisis in the affairs of England—Our foreign conquests—Prospect of affairs in the peninsula—Epitome of operations in Spain—Lord Wellington's situation and campaign in Portugal, &c.—Domestic incidents.

PARLIAMENT was opened by commission on the twenty-third of January; and the speech contained little specific matter, beside the late disasters, and the necessity of granting farther assistance to Spain and Portugal. The motion for an address, which, as usual, afforded an opportunity for young senators to display their oratorical powers, introduced Mr.

Peel with advantage to the house of commons, where he seconded it in a very animated speech; advising its adoption, like other speakers on the ministerial side, because it called for no approbation of what had passed, and opposed no impediment in the way of inquiry. After entering into a very encouraging detail of the internal prosperity of the country, he alluded to the aggression, usurpation, and tyranny of Buonaparte, as points on which all parties agreed; but to resist him effectually, they ought to be unanimous: every heart and hand should join to strengthen the common cause. An amendment was proposed by lord Gower, and seconded by the honorable J. W. Ward, in which the conduct of ministers in the Spanish war and the late expedition was severely censured, and their incapacity clearly exposed. Lord Kensington recommended a dutiful address to the throne, desiring inquiry, but deprecating all expressions that might appear to prejudge the conduct of ministers: on which, Mr. Ponsonby observed, 'that the amendment did not criminate any particular person: its only object was to inform his majesty, that the house, feeling deeply the disgraceful calamity of the last campaign, was resolved to inquire into its causes, and to punish the authors. During the late campaign in Spain, Buonaparte had quitted that country; and it was known to ministers themselves that Austria had determined to attempt once more to stem the torrent of his ambition: his leaving Spain must have shown them that he considered Austria as his most formidable enemy: they had the best means of information; and they were enabled to choose the best point for a diversion, that presented itself in favor of either country. If they had chosen such a point, and confined our concentrated forces to one object, they might have effected some grand operation. After all the notorious misconduct of ministers, it was still contended that the house should first inquire, and suspend all definitive judgment till the result of such inquiry was known. What was meant by this? That they were to begin by taking those things as problematical, which were universally acknowledged and established? that they were gravely to inquire, whether the climate of Walcheren was, or was not, unhealthy? whether the season at which the British army made its descent on that island was, or was not, unfavorable? whether ministers were, or were not, wholly ignorant of the climate and circumstances of a place within twenty hours' sail of England? Were they also to inquire who was selected to command the greatest expedition that ever left the

British shores? was that another of the notorieties, of which it was so necessary to ascertain the truth? Who then was this commander? a general wise from experience, and illustrious from the splendor of many victories? No: the flower of the British troops had been committed, in an evil hour, to the guidance of that inauspicious, ill-omened officer, of whom nothing more was known, than that he was once at the head of the admiralty; and such was his inability to discharge the duties of the department, that the minister, though his near relative, had not the courage to allow the functions of the state to sleep beneath the indolence even of his own brother. The situation of the country was indeed awful; and if they, whose ignorance and obstinacy had placed it in that situation, were now to be exempted from responsibility, its danger would not, on that account, be less alarming. The present was no time for half measures, or civility; for shaping amendments to the niceties of those gentlemen who revolted at the very idea of punishment: but it was time for the house to put its penal powers into effect, and to pursue with unwearied zeal public defaulters of every description.'

Lord Castlereagh, with unblushing effrontery, said, that being conscious of the wise policy on which the expeditions, which had attracted so much of that day's discussion, were formed, he had more reason to court than to shrink from inquiry; nor did he fear the exercise of that penal justice, with which Mr. Ponsonby had threatened him. Mr. Canning, though he had no direct share in the advice that sent forth an expedition, which exposed our councils to the derision of Buonaparte and all Europe, yet felt himself to have been, as one of the cabinet ministers, a participator in the disgrace, and accordingly attempted to defend the measure as well as himself: but he failed in satisfying the independent portion of the house. Mr. Whitbread declared boldly, 'that he looked on Mr. Canning as more responsible than the noble lord himself for the failure of the expedition; as having done what, in the history of the country, no other man could be found to have done. The right honorable gentleman, knowing what the interests of the nation required; aware also of all the measures which were in contemplation, or in progress, and among them of the expedition that government was then preparing; did, on the sixteenth of April, go and declare to the duke of Portland, that the minister, who was to have the conduct of this expedition, was not, however estimable he might be for his private virtues and good qualities, competent to the duties of his public station. Not satisfied with this, for fear of any

mistake, he made the same communication to his majesty : but to the noble lord himself, he never communicated such an opinion ; yet suffered him to originate, and conduct to its close, an expedition which has terminated so disgracefully to the country : he therefore entreated the house to avenge the cause of the public on the ministers who subjected the nation to such a calamity ; but more especially on that individual, who declared both to the duke of Portland and to the king, that the minister entrusted with its conduct was incompetent to his situation.' Nor was Mr. Canning the only object of the honorable gentleman's censure. It was not without reason that he went on to notice various actions, which had lately graced our arms, while they disgraced our cabinet. 'British victories,' he observed, 'were this night the particular themes of congratulation: Maida, Coruña, Vimiero, and Talavera were held up as monuments of our eternal glory ; but he beheld them only as so many gladiatorial exhibitions ; for none of them were happy in their consequences. Maida left the inhabitants at the mercy of a cruel enemy ; and at Coruña we lost general Moore, to prove the valor of our soldiers. What ! was our population so redundant, that we could spare men to prove what no one doubted ? was British valor so questionable, that a bloody experiment was necessary to prove it ? had we so many skilful generals, that they were become superfluous ? The battle of Vimiero, followed by the disgraceful convention of Cintra, had better never have taken place ; and Talavera was, at best, but an exhibition of victorious rashness.' After this, Mr. Whitbread proceeded in a very animated strain to animadvert on the composition of the cabinet ; commenting on the rebuff which its director had received from those to whom his first application was made, as well as on its present inefficiency ; deserted by two of its leading members, and composed of a motley crew respected by no party ; while the tenure, by which this incapable junta held their places, was the thralldom of millions of their fellow subjects. 'It has been observed by our enemy,' he said, 'that the genius of France guided our armies. Alas ! it now presides in our cabinet ! for, surely, whether we consider their ignorance, their imbecility, their bigotry, or the fate with which Providence visits all their measures, our enemy, had he the nomination, could not select men more suitable to his ends, or more pernicious to our interests.' Mr. Perceval, who had been accused of remaining obstinately silent under the charges urged against himself and his administration, could not sit still under this vehement attack : his defence however

was not a very spirited one. Regarding the transactions that led to the retreat of his two colleagues from the cabinet, he professed his ignorance of them until the close of the last session of parliament, and then he did not think it expedient to make himself a party in them; especially as an expedition of great importance was in forwardness, with which the noble lord was intimately connected. With respect to his own place as head of the present administration, he declared it to be a situation which was by no means an object of his desire; instancing the rejected application which had been made to other parties, as a proof of his own reluctance to accept it: he then went over the other topics in discussion; and concluded by defending the indefensible conduct of administration with respect to the late expeditions. The address was carried in favor of ministers by 263 votes against 167; and when it was brought up on the twenty-fifth, Sir Francis Burdett declared, 'it was with the utmost mortification he perceived, that the unparalleled disaster which we had lately suffered in the waste of blood and treasure, had not made on the members of that assembly the impressions which might naturally have been expected: ministers were still supported by the same kind of majorities, which they commanded in times of less disaster: they were still supported by the same men, and the same line of argument. Seeing this, he felt the more thoroughly convinced of the necessity of taking into early consideration that great measure, which he had recommended at the close of the late session; a reform in parliament. He did not mean to compare the pretensions of one set of public men with those of another; but he never before witnessed the measures of any set so completely abandoned as in the last debate: the minister really seemed not to have a word to say in his own defence.' The address in the lords was carried by a hundred and forty-four against ninety-two: and it may be observed, that in both houses the conduct of lord Wellington was very properly kept distinct from that of ministers by those who animadverted most severely on their measures.

On the twenty-sixth, lord Porchester rose in the commons to move for a committee of the whole house, which might inquire into the policy and conduct of the late expedition to Walcheren, by examining oral evidence as well as written documents. The motion was seconded by Mr. Windham, and opposed by Mr. Croker, that most alert and uncompromising of ministerial allies, who moved the previous question: Mr. Perceval also spoke on the same side; but the loudly-expressed indignation of the public had penetrated the

recesses of St. Stephen's chapel; and the proposition was carried by a majority of 195 against 186. On the first of February, the day before the investigation commenced, Mr. Charles Yorke gave notice, that he should, during its continuance, enforce a standing order of the house for the exclusion of strangers: Mr. Sheridan strongly deprecated the idea of conducting so interesting and important an inquiry with closed doors; and asked whether it could be endured that the people should be kept completely ignorant of parliamentary proceedings at such an awful moment? A large majority of members, however, decided that the standing order should be observed. A considerable portion of the session was occupied in this investigation; which, while it exposed the ignorance and incapacity of its author, showed that lord Chatham's confused and dilatory operations before Flushing were the more immediate cause of its failure. Both the house and the country read with astonishment the following passage in a despatch sent to him by lord Castlereagh:—'His majesty rejoices that this serious obstacle to the vigorous prosecution of the ulterior objects of the expedition has been seasonably overcome; and feels persuaded that those important objects will be followed up with the same energy, perseverance, and rapidity, which have hitherto distinguished your lordship's operations!' Among other papers, was a copy of the earl's own statement of his proceedings, presented to the king on the fourteenth of February, 1810. The tenor of this document was to impute blame to the naval part of the armament; and his lordship represented his failure to have arisen, either from insufficient arrangements on the part of the admiral, or from unavoidable difficulties inherent in the nature of the expedition itself; which, being intirely of a naval nature, did not come within his province. The presentation of such a document to the sovereign by a military commander, without the intervention of any responsible minister, and without the knowlege of the accused party, was pronounced to be a clandestine and unconstitutional attempt to poison the royal ear: a motion was accordingly made by Mr. Whitbread for an address to his majesty, praying that copies of all papers submitted to him by the earl of Chatham concerning the expedition to the Scheldt, might be laid before that house; and this was carried against ministers by a majority of seven: a vote of censure was then proposed by Mr. Whitbread, but amended by Mr. Canning, in which lord Chatham's conduct was pronounced highly reprehensible; and his lordship, to avoid the consequences of an address for his removal, resigned the office

of master-general of the ordnance. When the examination of evidence on this ill-fated expedition was concluded, lord Porchester moved two sets of resolutions; to the effect, that the enterprise was undertaken under circumstances which afforded no rational hope of adequate success, and at the precise season of the year when the disease which had proved so fatal was known to be most prevalent; that its advisers were therefore highly reprehensible; and that their conduct, in delaying the evacuation of Walcheren, called for the severest censure. After four nights' debate, there appeared for the first set of these resolutions 227, and against it 275 voices. A decision was called for on a miserable expedient of general Crawford, who proposed an amendment, declaring, that although the house considered with regret the lives which had been lost, it was of opinion that his majesty's ministers had proceeded on good grounds in undertaking the expedition: and this, though substantially at variance with itself, was carried by a majority of forty. The second set of resolutions, censuring ministers for delaying the evacuation of Walcheren, was negatived by 275 votes against 224; and a resolution, approving their conduct, in retaining the island till the time when it was abandoned, was carried by 255 against 232. The indignant nation plainly perceived that the house felt unwilling to sanction the disgraceful measures of the principals concerned in this expedition; but that it was too courtly to visit the commander with any severity of punishment, and too dependent to condemn the acts of a cabinet which did not seem likely to be dissolved: though the culprits therefore escaped, the cause of parliamentary reform advanced another step.

The exclusion of strangers during these proceedings, when it would have been more prudent to conciliate than to irritate the public, called forth strong animadversions from Sir Francis Burdett, who observed, 'that the house, in point of character and reputation, had nothing to boast of:' and being called to account by Mr. Perceval for these offensive remarks, he ridiculed that sensitive delicacy, which, while it connived at the most corrupt practices, shrank from a bare mention of the truth. The subject was afterwards selected as a question for dispute by the manager of a debating club, denominated the 'British Forum,' where the conduct of Mr. Yorke was so freely censured, that the pride of that gentleman took fire, and he determined to punish the delinquent: accordingly, on his complaint of a breach of privilege, the conductor of the institution, John Gale Jones, was brought to the bar of the house;

and, notwithstanding his acknowledgement of the offence, and a respectful apology for it, was committed to Newgate. Sir Francis Burdett was not present on this occasion; but when he re-appeared in his seat, he loudly condemned the measure as a violation of the common law, of Magna Charta, and of the trial by jury, in a case where the offence was punishable by the ordinary course of justice: he then moved for the immediate discharge of the offender; but the proposal was negatived by 153 voices against 14. In consequence of this decision, the honorable baronet published a copy of his speech, containing the violent effusions of his indignation, and accompanied by a letter to his constituents, inveighing with extreme asperity against the domineering spirit of a corrupt assembly, which, while it pretended to represent his majesty's subjects, invaded their rights; and denying the power of the house of commons to imprison the people of England.

In consequence of this attack, the house determined to assert their privileges, which, it was said, were within their sole cognisance. As it had been maintained in the case of Jones, that a libel, not being an obstruction to parliamentary business, could not be a lawful ground of commitment by either house, Sir John Anstruther replied, that, if not a personal, it was a constructive impediment, and justified authoritative interference: the house agreeing in this doctrine, and considering the publication of Sir Francis to be a gross and scandalous libel, a resolution was carried, by a majority of 190 against 150 votes, that he should be committed to the Tower on the speaker's warrant.

The honorable baronet however, instead of acquiescing in this resolution, disputed the warrant as an illegal document, and expressed his determination to resist not only that, but any force which might be employed to coerce him: on this, the opinion of the attorney-general was taken; in consequence of which, the serjeant-at-arms, accompanied by a number of police officers and a detachment of troops, proceeded to his mansion, which they entered by a window; and after some altercation, conveyed this 'friend of the people' to the Tower: his escort however was grossly insulted by the way; and, on its return, was attacked with so much violence, that the soldiers were obliged to fire in self-defence; when two individuals were killed, and several wounded; after which the mob assembled round the house of the baronet, and committed many outrages in the neighborhood. On the tenth of April, an offensive

letter sent by Sir Francis to the speaker, after the receipt of his warrant, became a subject of debate ; and though a resolution of the house declared it to be a flagrant breach of privilege, the anger which it excited led to no farther measures of punishment : some public bodies, particularly the electors of Westminster and London, petitioned with much warmth for his release ; but he continued in confinement to the end of the session ; when he privately retreated from the Tower by water, to the great disappointment of the crowd, who were prepared to escort him, with all popular honors, to his residence.

Sir Francis commenced actions against the speaker of the house of commons for issuing the warrant for his arrest ; against the serjeant-at-arms for executing it, as well as for breaking open his house ; and against earl Moira, governor of the Tower, for illegal imprisonment : his object was to ascertain whether an appeal lay to a court of law against the house, acting as accuser and judge in proceedings that affected the liberty of the subject : the judges however would not admit that any unlawful measure had been adopted in his case, or that the warrant issued by the authority of the house was an illegal instrument. The attempt therefore to overthrow this branch of parliamentary privileges, tended only to confirm it ; and gave to the claims of the house of commons a solemn recognition by the courts of law.

On the thirty-first of January, Mr. Ward moved the navy estimates, the sum total of which was £10,897,381 ; being less, by more than £1,000,000, than that of last year : he accounted for this reduction, from the new regulations for keeping public accounts, and from an actual diminution of expense. Mr. Bankes also moved for leave to bring in a bill to make perpetual an act, passed last year, to prevent the granting offices in reversion : though vehemently opposed by the minister, he was supported by individuals of all parties in the house, and the question was carried by acclamation : it was lost however in the upper house. To the next motion, for the appointment of a finance committee, Mr. Perceval gave his decided opposition ; but this also was carried against him.

On the first of February, Mr. Horner moved for various accounts and returns respecting the state of the circulating medium, and the trade in bullion ; on the production of which, a committee was appointed, who expressed an opinion, that the evils complained of were to be attributed to an excessive issue of Bank paper : and their report stated, ‘ that a general rise of all prices, a rise in the market price of gold, and a fall in the

foreign exchanges, will be the effect of an undue quantity of circulating medium in a country which has adopted a currency not exportable to other countries, or convertible at will into a coin that is exportable.' It was added, that no sufficient remedy could be pointed out, except a repeal of the law which suspended cash payments at the Bank; to effect which, some difficulties must be encountered: but all hazard to the stability of the Bank, and all injury to public credit, might be obviated, by restricting cash payments for two years from the present time, and by entrusting to the Bank itself the charge of conducting and completing the operation.

On the ninth of February, the earl of Liverpool moved for the grant of a pension of £2000 to lord Wellington and his two next heirs, and a bill founded on this motion subsequently passed through parliament. On the same day, in the house of commons, Sir Samuel Romilly proposed some alterations in the criminal law: the indiscriminate application of the sentence of death to crimes differing greatly in their degree of turpitude, had long been a subject of complaint: in his opinion, nothing could be more erroneous or mischievous, than that particular punishments should be allotted to particular offences, and that the law should not be acted on: he believed that not one out of six or seven, who received sentence, suffered the punishment annexed to it; which rendered our law, not a preventive, but a manifest cause of the commission of crimes: these were prevented much more effectually by the certainty than by the severity of punishment. The solicitor-general contended for the discretionary power with which the judges were invested, as a salutary terror; and Mr. Perceval could not allow that the English penal law deserved the epithet of 'sanguinary,' since the practice was a part of the code. Leave however was given for Sir Samuel Romilly to bring in a bill to amend the act of king William relating to private stealing in shops, warehouses, &c., to the amount of five shillings; also a bill to amend the act of Anne as to stealing in a dwelling-house to the value of forty shillings; and another, to amend the act of George II. as to stealing on navigable rivers to the same value. Though little more than discussion was produced at present by the efforts of this enlightened statesman to meliorate our sanguinary code, yet great praise is due to him for laying the foundation of that reform which has since taken place.

On the sixteenth of May, the chancellor of the exchequer brought forward his budget; and the supplies voted for the

year amounted to £52,185,000, of which, the proportion for Ireland was £6,106,000. No new taxes were imposed; but a loan of £8,000,000 was borrowed at the favorable rate of four pounds, four shillings, and three pence three farthings per cent. The foreign subsidies were, £400,000 for Sicily, and £980,000 for Portugal. A vote of credit was passed for £3,000,000; and Mr. Perceval made a very cheering report of British exports and imports; adding, that our orders in council had already reduced the receipts of customs in France, from the sum of £2,500,000, to that of £500,000.

On the eighteenth, a petition from the Irish catholics was presented by Mr. Grattan, who, in a long and luminous speech, brought forward all the arguments that could be adduced in its favor: the debate continued by adjournment for several nights; but the petition was rejected by a large majority; and the same fate attended a similar one in the upper house. A motion by Mr. Brande on the subject of parliamentary reform was also negatived by a majority of 234 against 115.

On the thirteenth of June, lord Grey, in the house of peers, brought forward a motion, 'to take into consideration the state of the nation,' which he prefaced by a very eloquent and argumentative speech. After expatiating on the enormous power acquired by Napoleon, the subjection of the whole continent to his dominion or influence, and the only hope which remained for Europe in the vigor and resistance of this country; he exposed the inefficiency and short-sighted policy of those measures which ministers had generally pursued: he then animadverted on the mismanagement of our internal resources, and the evils of our domestic policy; dwelling on the pernicious effects of our extended paper currency, and on the necessity of some systematic arrangement of finances, to prevent the anticipation of our remaining resources. After a slight allusion to the expediency of conciliating so large a portion of British subjects, as constituted the Roman catholic body in these realms, his lordship thus expressed himself on the subject of parliamentary reform:—'This question has long been one of my most serious contemplation: I took an active part in it at an early age: I pursued my object with all that eager hope and sanguine expectation so natural to the ardor of youth. I will not say, that in subsequent times there have not been some differences from my former impressions: but of this I assure your lordships, that on its great grounds, it never has been abandoned by me. To the temperate and judicious reformation of

abuses I am now a decided friend; and whenever it shall be brought forward, it shall receive from me a sincere and anxious assistance: but I never did, nor ever will, rest my views of salutary reform on the ground of theoretic perfection; though I am always ready to correct by the constitution a practical inconvenience, where it is practically felt: on this point, I was formerly misrepresented by that description of persons, who at this day continue the same course: the folly and presumption of the present day have taken up a new doctrine; that every branch and exercise of our constitution was defined by law, and only to be found in the statute-book: but I have ever understood from the most able men, that the great and fundamental blessing of the British constitution was fixed in the co-operation and harmony of all its powers, all leading to free and efficient government.' His lordship here entered into a vindication of himself against the accusation of those who classed him with the members of the Constitutional Society, and the followers of major Cartwright; utterly disclaiming their chimerical notions, though he imputed to them no base designs. With reference to the agitation then prevailing on the subject of parliamentary privileges, he vindicated them, as resting, like other great principles of government, on their utility and known existence; and he concluded by moving an address to his majesty. This motion excited a very animated debate, in which almost all the leading members of the house took a part; but on a division, the numbers, including proxies, were for the motion 72, against it 134.

Addresses were at this period voted in both houses, on the motion of lord Holland and Mr. Brougham, beseeching his majesty to persevere in his efforts to induce foreign nations to co-operate with him in the abolition of the slave trade. The latter gentleman, with great ability, laid open, not only the state of this abominable traffic in other countries, but the evasion with which its abolition was met in our own; where slave traders, like other smugglers, were in the constant habit of violating the laws: as the penalties were of a pecuniary nature, it became only a commercial speculation,—a consideration of the risk that might be run for a large profit, if success attended the adventure. A resolution for taking into consideration, early next session, measures to prevent this violation of the law, was unanimously adopted.

The twelfth report of the commissioners of military inquiry disclosed a flagrant instance of public delinquency, in the case of Joseph Hunt, a member of the house of commons, and late

treasurer of the board of ordnance. It appeared that this person had misapplied large sums of the public money to his own use ; and, on the motion of Mr. Calcraft, he was expelled the house : he had screened himself against farther punishment by emigrating to Lisbon, under the plea of ill health. After a very eventful session, parliament was prorogued on the twenty-first of June : events however occurred, which rendered it necessary to convoke its members again at an unusual period : these now demand our attention.

In the autumn of this year began the last and long protracted illness of his majesty, which was referred to several proximate causes, both of a public and a domestic nature. The tumults, agitation, and loss of lives in the metropolis, consequent on the arbitrary construction of its own privileges by parliament, added to the failure of our expeditions, and the prostration of our continental allies before the power of Buonaparte, naturally tended to disturb a mind enfeebled by age and shaken by infirmity : at the same time, an extraordinary event, accompanied by mysterious circumstances of assassination and suicide, which have never been unravelled, happened to his majesty's fifth son, the duke of Cumberland. On the thirty-first of May, his royal highness had retired to rest about one o'clock ; but at half-past two, he suddenly received two violent blows or cuts on his head : the first impression on his mind was, that a bat had entered the room ; but on receiving a third blow, he jumped out of bed ; and as he was making for a door, near the head of it, which opened into a small room, the assassin followed, and cut him across the thighs : not being able to find the alarm-bell, his royal highness called for Neale, his valet-in-waiting, who came to his assistance, and alarmed the household. While the duke went to the porter's room, Neale went to awaken Sellis, an Italian, who was attached also as a valet to his royal highness's service : no answer however being returned to Neale's exclamations, the door was broken open, and Sellis was found dead in his bed, with his throat cut from ear to ear. It was supposed, that, when the alarm was given, being conscious of his guilt, and suspecting they were coming to take him into custody, he immediately committed the suicidal act : his slippers were discovered in a closet adjoining the chamber, in which he concealed himself till his royal master was asleep : he had five different rooms to pass through from thence to his own ; and as traces of blood from his left arm were seen on the side of the narrow entrance, his coat was examined, and the left sleeve was found covered with blood. The

prince of Wales went to the palace early in the morning to visit his brother, whom he found wounded in six places ; and about eight o'clock he set off for Windsor with this sad intelligence, which could not fail to shock violently the mind of his royal father. The cause however most commonly assigned for the king's afflicting malady, was the illness of his favorite daughter, the princess Amelia, the termination of whose long sufferings was now evidently approaching. In October, this amiable lady had an attack of erysipelas, which was attended with such excruciating pain, as could not fail to shatter a frame naturally delicate, and weakened by incurable disease : throughout the whole, she displayed a sublime fortitude ; her pious resignation to the will of Providence increasing in proportion to the afflictions which she endured. While languishing in expectation of her last hour, she was constantly attended by her royal father, who administered to his child every consolation that could be drawn from religion : but the circumstance of a beloved daughter, in the prime of life, passing rapidly to her dissolution in the midst of acute sufferings, naturally preyed on the king's mind ; and a particular incident is related, as having brought on that aberration of intellect, in which he remained to the close of his earthly pilgrimage. About the twentieth of November, the princess, supposing her end to be nigh at hand, ordered a jeweller to prepare a mourning ring, containing a lock of her hair, with the inscription, ' Remember me ; ' and to bring it before three o'clock next day : when his majesty came, according to his unfailing custom, at that hour, and held out his hand to the sufferer, she placed it on his finger without uttering a word ; and the father, it was said, never recovered the shock thus given to his feelings : his mental distress immediately became great ; and in a few days the royal family were alarmed by the symptoms of that dreadful malady, which ever afterwards afflicted him.

Parliament met on the first of November, when there was no power either to prorogue or to open it ; as the king was not present, and no commission could be sent : in this case, the precedent of 1788 was followed, when the peers and the commons remained in their separate chambers ; the chancellor in the former, and Mr. Pitt in the latter, informing their respective houses, which had assembled without the usual notice or summons, of the impropriety of proceeding to any public business under such circumstances ; after which an adjournment of fifteen days was unanimously resolved on. Committees were now appointed to examine the

attendant physicians respecting his majesty's health ; and successive adjournments took place until the thirteenth of December, when the houses met ; and as it appeared from the medical reports that the species of insanity under which his majesty labored held out very slight hopes of his recovery, at least for a considerable period, the chancellor of the exchequer took measures for the appointment of a regency, and brought forward three propositions: the first, declaring the incapacity of the king to perform the functions of royalty, was unanimously agreed to : the second, asserting the right of the two houses to supply this defect in the executive power, was carried with the single dissentient voice of Sir Francis Burdett, who could not acquiesce in the declaration, ' that the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of the united kingdom, lawfully, fully, and freely represented all the estates of this realm ;' for it was notorious, that instances of corruption had been proved against the house of commons, in the election of which 150 peers had vast influence. In 1688, he said, the city of London, and the respectable gentry throughout the country, who had sat in that house, were called in, by a convention parliament, to settle the great interests of the nation : but now, a house, of which he drew some strong features, summing up its titles with that of ' the Walcheren parliament,' had, without any appeal to the people, its constituents, usurped all power to itself : he should therefore declare his solemn protest against the whole proceedings, as aiming a mortal blow against the constitution. To the third proposition, that means should be devised for giving the royal assent to a bill on the exercise of the regal authority during his majesty's indisposition, Mr. Ponsonby denied that the houses had a right to command the chancellor to apply the king's seal to an act which was thence to be considered as having the royal sanction ; and he moved for an address to the prince of Wales, praying him to take the regal functions on him during the king's illness. Mr. Canning preferred the precedents of 1788 to those of the Restoration or the Revolution ; and spoke in ridicule of Sir Francis Burdett, as wishing to call in the assistance of the lord mayor and common council, to settle the regency. Sir Samuel Romilly considered the resolutions as inconsistent with each other : ' in one,' said he, ' the right of the lords and commons to fill up the vacancy is asserted ; and yet, that vacancy being acknowledged, the royal assent to a bill is to be procured, to which his majesty can give no assent : the will of the lords and commons can in no wise be construed into the king's will ; nor can they by any means legislate for the nation :

as well might a set of men, in common life, make a contract for an insane person, and then employ an individual, as his solicitor, to affix his seal and signature to the deed : in fact, the personal presence of the king, or of a commission signed by him, was essential to every act of legislation ; and if the house could dispense with this in one case, they might in others ; they might make war or peace, and say such was the king's pleasure.' Mr. Whitbread spoke with great animation in favor of the proceeding by address, which the house rejected ; there appearing for it 157, against it 269.

Next day the report of the committee was brought up ; and on the second resolution being read, lord W. Russell objected to it as unnecessary, and as requiring the house to vote on abstract propositions. He was supported by Sir Francis Burdett, who asserted, that the way of duty in the present case was plain and clear ; for that, by addressing the prince, the house would not usurp a disputed power, but exercise an undoubted right : he took this opportunity of replying to the facetious remarks of Mr. Canning ; observing, ' that the gloom occasioned by the deaths at Walcheren, and all the miseries of that disgraceful expedition, in which he had been convicted of acting with a colleague whose incapacity he had denounced, might have suspended his drolleries ; especially, if he reflected, that there never was a minister in this country who so much deserved impeachment : he also might have recollected, that the corporation of London was an important body in our history ; and it little became him to despise the city, who had not thought it beneath his dignity to meet at one of its taverns a set of jobbers and contractors, whom he entertained with speeches on affairs of state.' Various speakers delivered their sentiments ; some opposing what they considered a very unconstitutional measure, by which the house would make itself king, in order to assent to its own act ; while others contended, not only that the method of 1788 ought to be received as a complete precedent, but that the proceeding by address would be fraught with absurdity and contradiction. For what was proposed to be done ? That the two houses should present an address to the prince, praying him to take on himself the executive power : if he agreed to this prayer, the natural supposition would be, that he was constitutional regent already : he would open parliament, as his royal father would have done ; and yet he was not actually regent ; for parliament, thus opened, was to proceed in the act to make him so : and here a long train of absurdities and inconsistencies would commence.

Mr. Perceval, after replying at length to the arguments of his opponents, concluded with asserting, that he would not defer doing what the interest of the country required, though the deed might belong to the executive power, and even require the sign manual: he would act on his own responsibility, regardless of the result. The house divided on the previous question; there being for it fifteen, against it ninety-eight.

As soon as parliament had come to the determination of proceeding by bill, and not by address, and Mr. Perceval had sketched out the plan of restrictions which he intended to bring forward, he wrote a letter, communicating them to the prince of Wales. His royal highness, in reply, simply and briefly referred the minister to the letter which on a similar occasion he had sent to Mr. Pitt; in which he had in a dignified manner protested against the proposed plan of a restricted regency; not because it conveyed any reflection on his personal character, but because, in his opinion, it essentially violated the British constitution: he agreed however to accept the high and important trust, even when so fettered and limited, from a regard to his royal father, and a desire, in the present embarrassing situation of affairs, to exert what ability he might possess. To an extraordinary protest of the royal dukes against the proposed restrictions, as unconstitutional, and subversive of the principles which placed their family on the throne, Mr. Perceval very properly replied, 'that he had the satisfaction and consolation to reflect, that they were founded on the precedent of 1788, which had then received the sanction of parliament, and subsequently the approbation of his majesty.'

Parliament was opened in the usual form, by a commission under the great seal; after the heads of the regency bill had passed through both houses, as estates of the realm assembled under peculiar circumstances. The bill was again brought before parliament in its constitutional and regular character; every part of it was again canvassed; and on every debate the efforts of opposition became more and more feeble. A committee of lords and commons was finally appointed to wait on the prince of Wales and her majesty, to lay before them the resolutions of the two houses relating to each; and, in consequence of the assent of those royal personages, the bill was passed for the enactment of a restricted regency, very similar to that of 1788; and for the care of his majesty's person by the queen, with the assistance of a council. The principal restrictions on the regent were to cease on the first of February,

1812, provided parliament should have been sitting six weeks, and should be then assembled: provision also was made for his majesty's resumption of the regal authority, in case of his restoration to health. We must now advert briefly to contemporaneous events in other quarters of the globe.

Buonaparte was in the zenith of his glory as emperor; but his real power was in a state of decline: this remains to be explained. It was not long, before that enthusiastic ardor, which rendered the soldiers of the republic irresistible, vanished from the French army: but when this source of impetuous courage was dried up, habits of victory, and affection for the emperor, filled up the void: individual energy being supplied by rigid discipline and skilful tactics, the national warrior, under Napoleon's hands, became the well-drilled, mercenary, imperial soldier; and the veteran bands that conquered at Ulm and Austerlitz, could they have lasted, might have defied the world: but the reckless ambition of Buonaparte tempted him to shed this precious blood profusely on the fields of Spain. In the mean time, the Austrian war broke out: he called for new levies, and placed them under the old standards; but he could not renew the ancient spirit of the troops; nor was this supplied by the discipline which remedied all defects at Austerlitz: the consequences were seen at Essling and Wagram, where victory bordered very much on defeat. The marriage, which he now contracted with Maria Louisa, saved him for a time; but the iniquitous and impolitic contest in Spain was still exhausting his best troops, the veterans of the revolution; and it soon appeared that their loss could not be compensated by the conscripts of the empire.

Another and equally powerful cause of Napoleon's decline was his violation of the laws of nations and of social rights. Immediately after his marriage, he set out, accompanied by his bride, on a tour through Belgium, where his attention was particularly turned to the enormous extent of colonial produce which was introduced into his dominions through Holland; and having in vain expostulated on the subject with his brother Louis, who scorned to act as the rigid impoverisher of his own subjects, Napoleon cut off the most important part of his kingdom; uniting to France those provinces which commanded the mouths of the Rhine and Scheldt: soon afterwards, when this was found insufficient, an army was sent into Holland to enforce the counter blockade against the English; on which, Louis resigned his crown, and retired into Germany; while his

kingdom was divided into departments, and incorporated with the French empire.

In Sweden, at the unexpected decease of the crown prince, several candidates appeared for the succession; but the national choice fell on marshal Bernadotte, between whom and Buonaparte there existed a secret and long-cherished enmity. As it was important to the emperor to have a stanch friend on the Swedish throne, he covertly opposed the election; and delayed his assent, by proposing restrictions on the independence of the future sovereign. Bernadotte however played his part well: having wrested from Napoleon a reluctant consent, he left the French territories before there was time to retract it; and on his arrival in Sweden, he endeavored by all possible means to ingratiate himself with the nation, and acquire its confidence: at present however he was unable to resist the influence of the French emperor, at whose requisition the Swedish government was obliged to declare its adherence to the continental system, prohibit all intercourse with Great Britain, and interdict the importation of colonial produce. Thus, as in the case of Holland, the enmity of the people was added to that of the sovereign against Napoleon.

Other annexations to the French empire, were that of the Valais, for the purpose of securing the passage of the Simplon into Italy; and that of the Hans Towns, with the whole territory between the Elbe and the Ems. This last measure not only increased the dissatisfaction of the northern states of Germany, but gave considerable uneasiness to the czar; and Alexander soon exhibited his displeasure, by prohibiting the importation of French agricultural produce and manufactures into Russia: as the continental system had destroyed all trade in the ports of the Baltic, he showed himself more favorable to the English;¹⁸ while reciprocal complaints of bad faith led gradually to the disruption of friendly ties between the two emperors. The electorate of Hanover also was annexed to the kingdom of Westphalia; to all dependent states the odious and cruel conscription laws were extended; while in France itself it became necessary to rivet the chains of despotism by a rigid police, and the intire suppression of the liberty of the press. Decrees for seizing and burning English merchandise were carried into execution, not only in France, but in all the countries subject to the disastrous rule of its master: the captain of any vessel, holding intercourse with Great Britain or

¹⁸ See Bourrienne's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 198.

her ships, was rendered subject to the penalty of death, and its owner to that of the brand. 'In the interior of France,' says De Bourrienne, who was at this time French envoy at Hamburg, 'no idea could possibly be formed of the desolation caused by these measures in countries which existed by commerce; and what a spectacle it was to the destitute inhabitants of those countries to witness the destruction of property, which, had it been distributed, would have assuaged their misery.' Thus popular discontent increased, while the continent was still inundated with British manufactures; for however powerful may be the will of a despot, it is less powerful and less permanent than are the wants of a people. Lastly, it may be observed, that Napoleon lay under the anathemas of the church; and an act of his this year increased the odium which he had acquired by his treatment of its head. The Italian ecclesiastics, by their influence, still maintained the supremacy of the pope: these, being collected together in large bodies at Rome, were constrained by an imperial edict to retire to their respective residences; and when symptoms of dissatisfaction showed themselves, a French corps of 20,000 men was collected in the vicinity of Rome; the churches and other public edifices being converted into barracks for their accommodation. At this time, when Napoleon stood most in need of sincere advisers, he was surrounded by court sycophants: the great diplomatist, who could have saved him from folly and disaster, remained in disgrace; and his brother Lucien, disgusted at his tyrannical conduct, had sought an asylum in England. All these circumstances tended to undermine the imperial power, when it seemed at its greatest height, and afforded to its possessor the most flattering hopes of permanency.

Great Britain was now in the very struggles of her crisis: the enormous pressure of taxation, increased as it was by rashly-advised and ill-conducted expeditions, weighed heavy on her finances; the Berlin and Milan decrees seriously affected her commerce, before new channels could be found for the exit of her manufactures and colonial produce; the alarming depreciation of her paper currency, with a consequent rise of prices, created general misery among the lower orders; while innumerable bankruptcies were followed by a dreadful reverse of fortune, among those who were accustomed to all the comforts and elegances of life. With regard to her government, the cabinet was still weak; the quarrels of its principal members remained unhealed; and the regent was dissatisfied with the restrictions placed on him: at the same time, a strong oppo-

sition in the house of commons was so adverse to the prosecution of the Spanish contest, overrating the powers of Napoleon, undervaluing the talents of our great captain, and disgusted at the inferiority of our war administration, that ministers were hesitating whether they should not withdraw from the contest; and lord Wellington's cautious proceedings chiefly arose from his knowlege, that any serious reverses in the peninsula would be followed by its abandonment to the enemy.

In this fearful state of things, another war in a different hemisphere seemed fast approaching, when the American minister in London demanded the recall of Mr. Jackson, the British envoy; and Buonaparte, availing himself of the bill passed by congress for a conditional repeal of the non-importation act, declared that the Berlin and Milan decrees, as far as they affected America, should cease to operate on the first of November: the American president accordingly issued a proclamation, on the second of that month, discontinuing all restrictions relating to France and her dependences; with a professed determination, that if Great Britain did not revoke her orders in council by the second of February, the interdict would be enforced against her. This appeared a gloomy picture; yet it was relieved by some gleams of light: England still had the uncontrolled dominion of the sea; her colonial power went on increasing; and whenever her fleets could co-operate with her military forces, success generally attended her banners. In the beginning of July, Murat collected a powerful armament on the coast of Calabria, for the invasion of Sicily: after many skirmishes between his flotilla and that prepared by Sir John Stuart to resist him, in which great numbers of the Neapolitan vessels were taken or destroyed, he succeeded in throwing on shore a force of about 3500 men near the Faro point; but, not being properly supported, 900 of them were taken prisoners by general Campbell, and the rest driven for shelter to their vessels. With similar success, the island of Anholt, in the Baltic, was defended by captain Maurice with 380 men, against a Danish force of nearly 3000, which landed there on the twenty-third of March. In the list of our conquests was that of Santa Maura, added to the other Ionian islands rescued from French dominion: the Dutch settlement of Amboyna, and Banda the principal of their spice islands, surrendered to our arms; as also did the isles of Bourbon and Mauritius, which had long afforded shelter to French privateers, to the great injury of East-

Indian commerce: in the latter island, an immense quantity of stores and valuable merchandise, five large frigates, some smaller ships of war, and twenty-eight merchantmen, beside two British captured East-Indiamen, were taken by the conquerors. In the West Indies, the important island of Guadaloupe, the last colonial possession of France, surrendered to a combined naval and military force under admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane and lieutenant-general Beckwith; the latter of whom commanded an army of about 6000 men, divided into five brigades: by the prompt and judicious operations of these several corps, when a landing had been effected, the enemy was driven from all the positions he had occupied: having then compressed his forces, he retired to an apparently impregnable situation, beyond the bridge of Nozière, which was broken down. The spot chosen for defence was of a triangular shape, two sides being deep ravines; but the base consisted of a mountainous and woody ridge, the intricate passes of which were strongly guarded. The great obstacle to the British, in the way of farther proceedings, was the passage of the river Noire, which ran down the ravine in front of the enemy: Sir George Beckwith therefore determined not to hazard an attack in that quarter, but rather on the flank of his opponents, notwithstanding all the obstructions which nature and art presented to this manœuvre. Accordingly, brigadier-general Wale, who commanded the reserve, was ordered to carry his brigade by night over the hills, for the purpose of turning the enemy's left: this order however had scarcely been given, when general Wale met with a man who had long been accustomed to hunt in these mountains, and who offered, at the risk of his life, to guide the troops by a path too intricate to be attempted in the dark, but which would bring them on the enemy's flank in two hours. There now remained only one hour and a half to sunset: no time was to be lost in sending to the commander in chief, whose route, laid down for the reserve, required five hours; while general Wale from his position could see the British left already engaged with the enemy; whence it was clear to him, that the French left could not be reinforced in less time than was required for his march. In this situation, the brigadier-general adopted the resolution of a firm, vigorous, and patriotic mind: risking all personal consequences that might ensue from disobedience of orders, he instantly began his march; carried his brigade through the most intricate passes in the time specified; and, after a short but severe conflict, drove in the enemy, and gained the strong

post which laid them open to an attack in flank and rear. The French commander was so confounded at seeing the heights occupied by British troops, that he sent a flag of truce, and surrendered the whole island without farther contest: brigadier Wale was wounded in this service; and Sir George Beckwith, in general orders, bore the most honorable testimony to the zeal and ability with which he had conducted his operations. In the same month, St. Eustace and St. Martin were also taken; and nothing more was left in this part of the world for British arms to conquer.

In Spain and Portugal, though the political horizon was still gloomy, some indications of a brighter day appeared: a reaction against the power of imbecile and selfish juntas had become visible; while lord Wellington, who had given proofs of the most consummate talent and exemplary discretion, acquired an ally among the British ministers, in the person of his brother, from whose enlightened views and active co-operation he anticipated the happiest results. It is now time to resume our detail of operations in the peninsula, for the conquest of which Buonaparte this year made extraordinary exertions.

After the battle of Ocaña, the French under Soult, assisted by Victor and Mortier, and accompanied by the king in person, advanced into the south of Spain. Having, on the twentieth of January, penetrated the passes of the Sierra Morena, almost without resistance, they established their headquarters at Baylen.

Sebastiani overran Grenada, and took possession of Malaga: Seville surrendered to Victor on the tenth of February; the supreme junta, assembled there, having previously retired to the isla de Leon, on the extreme point of which stands the city of Cadiz. This last refuge of Spanish independence had been exposed to great danger, through their vacillation or treachery; and it was saved by a remarkably rapid march of the duke of Albuquerque, one of the few Spanish generals, to whom their country is indebted for good service in her time of danger. This nobleman, at the head of 8000 men, retreated from Utrera, when he saw that Seville must fall; and on his arrival at Cadiz, he found that the junta, who were strongly suspected of a design to make terms with Joseph, had been deposed, and the supreme authority invested in a regency: vigorous preparations were now made for defence; all persons capable of bearing arms were enrolled; British troops were called in from Lisbon and Gibraltar; and the Spanish fleet,

amounting to twenty sail of the line, was moored in the harbor, under the direction of admiral Purvis, who also brought in the British squadron. The French troops occupied the whole circuit of the bay, endeavoring to annoy the shipping and town; but not venturing a regular attack on the isle of Leon: they however took fort Matagorda, situated on the opposite side of the harbor, about two miles from Cadiz, after it had been bravely defended two months by a body of British soldiers and sailors. In Catalonia, the Spanish general, O'Donnel, who had collected a considerable force for the purpose of raising the siege of Hostalric, was defeated on the plain of Vich; and, after a brave resistance of four months, the castle of Hostalric was taken, by which the French secured a communication between Gerona and Barcelona. In June, they captured the important fortresses of Lerida and Mequinenza; but Tortosa, which was next besieged, did not surrender until the commencement of the following year. Valencia, for the surprise of which, a plan was concerted between Suchet and some traitors within the city, was defended by general Caro, who marched out against the enemy, and defeated them with great slaughter. In the south, 6000 French, stationed at Ronda, were surprised by a detachment from Algeiras, under general Lacy; and fled in disorder, leaving their arms and ammunition, which were distributed among the mountaineers. The spirit of resistance spreading to the frontiers of Murcia, Sebastiani was ordered into that province; where he compelled the Spaniards to retire to Alicante. An expedition undertaken against Malaga, in October, proved unsuccessful; and lord Blaney, who commanded the troops, was taken prisoner.

In Galicia and the Asturias, the war was carried on with various success, by the Spanish generals, Porlier, Mahi, and Renovales, assisted by a squadron of British frigates stationed at Coruña; Sir Home Popham being sent by the British government to direct the naval, and general Walker the military department. Various expeditions from Coruña increased the audacity of the guerilla forces, which frequently united in numbers sufficient to attack large French detachments with such success, that lord Liverpool became anxious to employ a corps of 4000 British troops to secure Santona, which had the best winter harbor on the coast: but when he consulted lord Wellington, that sagacious commander dissuaded him from the project, declaring that it was vain to hope for assistance even in this way from the Spaniards. 'The first thing,' said he,

‘which they would require, would be money; then arms, ammunition, clothing, provisions, horses, forage, and every thing which the expedition ought to demand from them: and after all, this extraordinary and perverse people would scarcely allow its commander to have a voice in the plan of operations to be followed, when the whole were ready to undertake any; if indeed they ever should be ready.’ Meanwhile, Napoleon caused Caffarelli’s reserve to enter Spain, ordered Santona to be fortified, and directed other reinforcements to these provinces; sending marshal Bessières to command the army of the north, which at the end of the year exceeded 70,000 men. The army of the centre amounted to 27,000, exclusive of the French and Spanish guards, and the *juramentados*, or native troops, which had taken the oath of allegiance to Joseph: with this force, the new monarch protected his court, watched the movements of the Valencians, and checked the incursions of the *partidas*. In Andalusia, Seville was the chief point of French defence; Cadiz that of attack: in this latter city, the national Cortes at length met, and the long suppressed voice of the people was now heard; but the hopes, which had been thus excited, ended in disappointment. Having assumed the lofty title of majesty, this assembly declared the press free, except in matters of religion; abolished some of the provincial juntas; re-appointed captains-general, and proceeded to form a constitution worded in the spirit of republican freedom: but these abstract principles of liberty were not what the Spanish nation desired: national pride and religious influence were the main-springs of its action; and the Cortes, in suppressing old establishments, and violating old forms, wounded various interests, created powerful enemies, and shocked those very prejudices which produced resistance to Napoleon: at the same time, in the administration of civil and military affairs, procrastination, intrigue, folly, and violence were still predominant; and though there was no cordial union among any parties in acting against the common enemy; yet, with respect to the colonies, which had contributed 90,000,000 of dollars to the support of the war, all agreed to push violence, injustice, and impolicy to their utmost limit. The manner in which those transatlantic provinces were governed by the mother country, had long been a subject of much discontent; but the treatment which they had lately experienced from the regency, by the tyrannical suppression of their direct trade with Great Britain one month after it had been allowed, tended greatly to increase their dissatisfaction: when the Cortes met, they ex-

pected more justice; but as soon as the colonial rights were agitated in that assembly, eternal slavery was declared to be the only lot adapted to persons, whom these proud and bigoted Spaniards would scarcely acknowlege as belonging to the great family of mankind. 'The Americans complain of having been tyrannised over for three hundred years! they shall now suffer for three thousand years.'—'We know not to what class of beast the Americans belong:' such, says colonel Napier, were the expressions heard and applauded in the Cortes, when the rights of the colonists were agitated in that assembly.¹⁹

The rising spirit of liberty first manifested itself in the province of Caraccas, where the magistrates were deposed, and a provisional junta was formed for conducting the government on the principle of fraternisation and unity with the mother country, though with the expectation of ultimate independence: other provinces soon followed the example; and, on the nineteenth of April, the confederacy of Venezuela was formed. Having been declared traitors, their ports were blockaded, until they should acknowlege the authority of the regency at Cadiz, as the legitimate representatives of Ferdinand VII.; though the colonists affirmed, that the central junta had no right to appoint a regency before the assembling of the Cortes: at the same time, the promise of an amnesty was held out for what had passed, on condition of future obedience. Two parties now arose in Spanish America; the loyalists, who submitted to the regency; and the independents, who insisted on governing themselves: king Joseph endeavored to form a third, but met with no success. The junta of Caraccas opened a correspondence with the British government, through that of Curaçoa; but lord Liverpool, in his reply, observed, 'that, under the obligations of justice and good faith, his Britannic majesty must discourage every attempt to separate the Spanish provinces in America from the mother country: yet if Spain should be condemned to submit to the yoke of the common enemy, every assistance should be given to those provinces in rendering them independent of that power, and obtaining in them an asylum for such Spaniards as should disdain to submit to their oppressors; where they might preserve the remains of the monarchy for their lawful sovereign, should he ever recover his liberty.' Providence however in his mercy decreed otherwise; and Spanish America has not been cursed with the aid of Great Britain to rivet on its people the

¹⁹ Napier, vol. iii. p. 420.

leaden fetters of a despotism which was perhaps unexampled among nations : many indeed are the miseries these colonists have undergone ; many more also it will be their fate to undergo, before they have worked out their freedom, and cleared away corruptions engendered by ages of tyranny and misrule : but these evils are transitory : they will pass off like fogs and exhalations from the purified atmosphere ; and their latest posterity will have cause to rejoice, that no British cabinet had the power of bringing their country again under the yoke of a Bourbon dynasty.

Several months were now elapsed since the French had resumed their schemes of conquest, interrupted by the Austrian war and British movements ; routing the Spanish armies, dispersing their scattered troops, and subduing fortress after fortress, until all solid resistance was gone, and no hope of deliverance remained for the peninsula, except what rested on the English general. That distinguished chief, when he had freed his operations from the wretched influence of Spanish juntas, retired to undertake the defence of Portugal against the whole power of France ; but not without a cautious estimate of all the difficulties and chances of success in a country, the face of which he had viewed with the eye of a skilful tactician. Soon after the fatal battle of Ocaña, he repaired to Seville, where he met his brother, the marquis Wellesley, and held several conferences with the Spanish government : after this, he entered into correspondence with the cabinet at home, the members of which were so fully satisfied of the practicability of his schemes, that they determined to support him : but as the dreadful loss of men occasioned by the Walcheren expedition prohibited them from sending any reinforcement of troops for the present, they agreed to take 10,000 more of the Portuguese into British pay ; and thus, pledging themselves to an annual subsidy of nearly £1,000,000, they justly required, under pain of stopping such a supply, that the Portuguese regency should effectively keep up that part of the military establishment which remained under their own direction.

When lord Wellington removed his troops from the banks of the Guadiana, he placed the greater part of them in healthy and comfortable quarters along the valley of the Mondego, expecting a reinforcement of 5000 infantry, and a cavalry regiment from England : on the twentieth of January, his head quarters were at Viseu ; general Hill being left with 10,000 men, half British and half Portuguese, at Abrantes, in order to watch Badajos, and protect Lisbon, as well as the right flank of

the British army: the head quarters of marshal Beresford were at Thomar; in which place, and the neighboring villages, the Portuguese troops were stationed.

In the mean time, the French movements were again under the direction of Napoleon; and not Andalusia only, but every part of the peninsula was destined to feel his influence. Fresh troops, flushed with their late victories in Germany, were inundating Spain, and pursuing the track of the old legions, while the latter were impelled forward in the career of invasion: yet, even under these circumstances, the British general meditated a forward movement into Castile, in order to threaten the rear of Joseph's army, and force him to desist from his attack on Andalusia: he well knew how fast recruits for the French armies were pouring into Spain, though the junta had assured him that they amounted only to 8000 men; but he was obliged to relinquish his design, because his own reinforcements did not arrive from England before those of his opponents came into line; because the Portuguese troops had suffered such hardships during the winter, that to put them forward would be to risk their total disorganisation; and because marshal Mortier had brought up his division against Badajos; so that the removal of general Hill's force from Abrantes would have exposed the right flank of the British army to imminent danger. The invasion of Andalusia was soon discovered to be only part of a general movement: exclusive of the army which forced the Sierra Morena, three corps, the sixth, second, and fifth, amounting to 50,000 men, might have united to oppose the British advance; while 100,000 victorious troops, rendered disposable by the peace of Vienna, were crossing the Pyrenees: of these, a complete division, under Junot, was already arrived in the plains of Valladolid; and would, in conjunction with Kellerman, have overwhelmed the British army, but for that sagacity, which the French, with derisive but natural anger, and the Spaniards with ingratitude, termed, 'the selfish caution of the English system.'²⁰

Henceforward lord Wellington turned his whole attention to Portugal; against which country, before the end of May, the French brought an army, amounting to near 87,000 men of all arms, under the chief command of Massena; while the ninth corps, of 24,000, under Drouet, was arranged for its support, along the great line of communication from Vittoria to Valla-

²⁰ Napier, vol. iii. p. 232.

dolid; and a division of more than 10,000, under general Serras, was employed as a movable column, to protect its rear: beside these troops, the French army of the south, under Soult, consisted of about 73,000 men; that of the centre, under Joseph, reckoned 24,000; and about 144,000 were distributed, under Macdonald, Suchet, and other commanders, in the various governments. To oppose this mighty force, the Spaniards had little except their *partidas*, or irregular bands; which, though extremely annoying to the French, would have soon disappeared under the stern orders of Napoleon, had they not been supported by the presence of British armies, to which eventually they became extremely serviceable.

In Portugal however, strange to say, lord Wellington was met by innumerable obstacles, similar to those which he had experienced in Spain. There were three principal parties in the country: that of the great mass of the people, ready to undergo every extremity for independence; that of the disaffected, who expected an ameliorated government if the French should be successful; and that of the *fidalgos*, or nobles, who hoped to profit by the energies of the nation, without any diminution of their privileges, or of the abuses of government. These latter were a powerful body, acting in co-operation with a regency as corrupt and imbecile as the supreme junta of Spain: at their head was that furious and bigoted priest, the bishop of Oporto, who had lately been raised to the dignity of patriarch: his colleagues, the Monteiro Mor, and the marquis of Das Minas, were jealous of each other; but, like their chief, unanimous in support of abuses: insomuch that the re-organisation of the army, carried on by marshal Beresford, was so hateful to those who profited by its former state, that Das Minas resigned in disgust, and became a centre round which the disaffected of all parties rallied. Four new members were then added to the regency; of whom, the first, Antonio, commonly called Principal Souza, was a daring and unprincipled intriguer, who, in league with the patriarch, sought every opportunity to thwart the British generals. Thus, as colonel Napier observes, an exceedingly powerful cabal was formed, whose object was to obtain the supreme direction of civil and military affairs, and control both Wellington and Beresford; and while the chevalier Souza, brother of the principal, was envoy at the court of London; another, Don Pedro de Souza, in the same capacity near the Spanish regency; and the conde Linhares, head of the family, prime minister in the Brazils;—their dangerous intrigues were supported with a high hand by the cabinet

of Rio Janeiro.¹ To counteract and overcome the machinations of this cabal, gave lord Wellington, for a long time, more trouble than to beat the French: perhaps they would have been too much even for his powerful mind, distracted as it was by other cares, had it not fortunately happened that Canning's envoy, Mr. Villiers, was superseded by Charles Stuart, just at the time when consummate experience in the affairs of the peninsula, aided by a resolute temper, was absolutely necessary to support the plans of the commander-in-chief. Having demanded and obtained, as marshal-general of Portugal, an authority over the forces independent of the local government, Wellington called on the regency to revive the ancient military laws, by which the whole male population was to be enrolled and bear arms: this effected, he demanded that the people should be ordered to lay waste the country, on whatever line the enemy might penetrate: but, knowing that he had to oppose the finest armies of France with a small British force, before the discipline and valor of his Portuguese allies could be ascertained, he conceived the grand design, of turning the vast mountains that cross the neck of land on which Lisbon is situated, into an impregnable citadel, to receive the defenders of the peninsula, if they should be obliged to retire before the overwhelming masses of its invaders. Knowing also the uncertainty of war, and the dangers of an encounter with 80,000 veteran troops of France, lord Wellington prepared a second and a third line of intrenchments; whilst a large fleet of transports was constantly kept in the river, for the reception, not only of the British and Portuguese forces, but such of the citizens also as might wish to embark. It then remained to organise a method of supplies for his army in a country almost exhausted of provisions; and, lastly, to consider attentively every line of operation on which the enemy might advance, in order to obstruct his movements. Such were some of the difficulties that surrounded this second Marlborough; such the intricate combinations which engaged his mighty mind, when he undertook to renew the ancient glories of his country, tarnished by recent failures on the continent.

The British army, distributed into five divisions, was thus disposed in the beginning of the campaign. The first division of 6000 men under general Spencer was stationed at Viseu; the second under general Hill at Abrantes; the third of 3000 under general Picton at Celerico; the fourth of 4000 under general

¹ Napier, vol. iii. p. 250.

Cole at Guarda; and the light division of 2400 under general Robert Crawford at Pinhel; while 3000 cavalry under Sir Stapleton Cotton were ranged along the valley of the Mondego; the whole number under arms being not more than 23,400: to this however must be added about 20,000 Portuguese regulars at Thomar, 5000 at Abrantes, and the militia with the *ordenança*, that formed a kind of defence at the wings of lord Wellington's line.

The early movements of the French were vague, and their projects obscure: while Mortier menaced Badajos, Ney summoned Ciudad Rodrigo; and Loison advanced against Astorga, from which place he was repulsed. Junot, with the eighth corps, then meditated the siege, but was suddenly called toward Madrid to repress any disorders that might occur in the king's absence; while Kellerman advanced to Alba de Tormes; and detachments from his force, and that of Ney, chased the Spanish general, Carrera, from the Gata and Bejar mountains. The invasion of Portugal by the northern line was not yet finally arranged: whatever designs might have been contemplated, they were frustrated, partly by the insurrection in Grenada and the failure of Suchet in Valencia, partly by dissension among the leaders in the absence of Napoleon. When the commotions in the south subsided, Junot returned into Old Castile; and, having established communications between himself and Ney, invested Astorga, which fell after a gallant resistance on the night of the twenty-first of April. During this siege, the sixth corps was concentrated at Salamanca; a detachment sent by Kellerman seized the pass of Baños; and a strong battering train arrived at Salamanca. The grand operations were now commencing; the whole line of communication with France swarmed with living masses; and a report arose that the emperor himself was on the way to head his armies. The emperor however was bound at Paris by the silken fetters of Hymen; but Massena, the highest in rank among the marshals, a stranger also to those petty intrigues and jealousies which had hitherto obstructed the French conquests, was selected to be the representative of Napoleon; and his authority was made absolute in the northern provinces of Spain. Having repaired to Madrid for the purpose of conferring with the king, he there decided on the northern line of invasion; and, during his residence in the capital, he sent instructions to marshal Ney to undertake the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo.

On the twenty-sixth of April this place was invested by about 25,000 French troops: the garrison amounted to 6000

fighting men, beside the citizens ; and the veteran Don Andreas Herrasti, its governor, was one of the few Spanish officers worthy of his country's best days. The British head-quarters were now removed to Celerico ; the garrison naturally looked for assistance ; and the allied forces were eager for the contest ; but no demonstration was made to co-operate with the besieged. Lord Wellington has been censured for this inactivity ; as disregarding, with a worse than stoical indifference, the sufferings of his allies, and the taunts of his enemies. Let the detractors of this great general attend to an observation made at the time by one, who above all others seems to have entered into the profound views of his distinguished commander. ' If,' said general Picton, ' we attempt to relieve this place, the French will drive us out of Portugal ; while, if they get possession of it, they will lose time, which is of more importance to them than Ciudad Rodrigo.' ² At this period also, lord Wellington's operations were so cramped by the scandalous conduct of the Portuguese regency, who kept back all the resources of the country, that it was not without great difficulty he could maintain his position on the frontier. Their conduct was exactly similar to that which he had experienced from the Spanish junta in his advance to Talavera ; and his remonstrances were treated with the same contemptuous indifference and neglect : but feeling himself here to be in a different relative situation, he wrote in a severe and menacing style to those traitors ; by which means alone he procured some relief for his troops. How different might have been the result of this campaign, if Massena, despising the small Spanish garrison left in the rear of his immense army, had pressed boldly on, while Regnier had taken Hill's division in flank ! Well might the emperor, when he deliberately criticised operations at St. Helena, declare that his lieutenant had violated the essential rules of offensive warfare ! ³

Lord Wellington's capacious and reflective mind had at this time taken an anticipated view, not only of the present campaign, but of the whole peninsular war : he had now become acquainted with the character and resources both of his allies and of his antagonists ; and he was well aware that one or two victories on his own side could not decide the contest, while a single defeat might at once bring it to a conclusion. Not all the wiles of his antagonist therefore could induce him to hazard

² Life of Picton, vol. i. p. 273.

³ ' Il n'avait pas raisonné son opération,' was the expression.

an engagement: but in order to keep up the animation of his troops, he permitted general Crawford, one of the most daring and impetuous spirits in the British army, to commence a series of operations with the light division; giving him however strict injunctions not to pass the Coa, and not to bring on a general action. With 4000 infantry, 1100 cavalry, and six guns, this enterprising officer executed a brilliant series of manœuvres, within a few hours' march of the grand French army; defeating many detachments, especially of cavalry; and cutting up the resources of the country, which he appropriated to the sustenance of his own troops. His division was at this time in so perfect a state of discipline, that the whole would, when any occasion offered itself, form in order of battle, with the baggage packed in the rear, in less than a quarter of an hour.

In the mean time, Ciudad Rodrigo, left to its fate, held out nobly till the first of July; when Massena, sensible that Ney's mode of attack was faulty, made such alterations as soon brought all the outward defences of the place into his possession; and on the ninth, so terrible a fire was opened on the town itself, that the Spanish guns were nearly silenced, and a wide breach was visible in the wall. 'At this moment,' says colonel Napier, 'three French soldiers, of heroic courage, suddenly running out of the ranks, mounted the breach; looked into the town; and, having thus proved the state of the works, discharged their muskets, and retired unhurt to their comrades: the columns of assault immediately assembled; and the troops, animated by this example, as well as by the presence of Ney, were impatient for the signal. A few moments would have sent them raging into the midst of the city; when a white flag waved on the rampart, and the venerable governor was seen standing alone on the ruins, and signifying by his gestures that he desired to capitulate. He had stricken manfully, while reason warranted hope; and it was no dishonor to his silver hairs, that he surrendered when resistance could only lead to massacre and devastation.'⁴

Soon after the fall of this place, general Crawford, who had

⁴ If the wretched Ferdinand had possessed a soul removed one degree above the brute creation, he would have employed artists to delineate this and other instances of heroic valor in his subjects, instead of using his own royal fingers to embroider petticoats for the Virgin. Such noble representations would have adorned the walls of the Escorial quite as well as the figures of tortured saints, or the loves of heathen deities.

ventured to depart from his commander's general instructions so far as to pass the Coa, brought on a combat between his division and a superior force, by which he was driven across a bridge over that river, and pursued by the enemy: there however his troops made a gallant stand, and the French lost more than 1000 men; the slaughter at the bridge being dreadful to behold: the British general then made good his retreat behind the Pinhel, with a loss of forty-four Portuguese, and 272 British killed, wounded, or missing; among whom were twenty-eight officers.

Massena pushed some troops over the Coa for the purpose of cutting off all communication between the allied army and the garrison of Almeida: on the twenty-seventh of July they reached the Pinhel; and the British army was drawn back to a more concentrated position, where it remained several days anxiously watching the movements of the enemy: on the third of August, however, the French retired again behind the Coa; but lord Wellington could not be induced to alter his plans: so that when Massena, after much dilatory proceeding, invested Almeida, he left colonel Cox the governor, with a garrison of about 4000 men, to make the best defence in his power. On the eighteenth, the trenches were begun under cover of a false attack; and on the twenty-sixth, the second parallel being completed, sixty-five pieces of artillery, mounted in ten batteries, opened on the place: the counter fire however was briskly kept up, and little serious damage was sustained; but just after dark, treason or accident caused an explosion in the magazines, which not only reduced the whole town to ruins, with an enormous destruction of life, but dismounted the guns, and breached the rampart; so that the place could not have been long defended. Colonel Cox, hoping that the British army might relieve him, and knowing the importance of delay, would still have refused the enemy's demand to surrender, had he not been betrayed by his Portuguese officers, at the head of whom was Bernardo Costa, lieutenant-governor of the fortress, who was afterwards brought to trial by marshal Beresford, and shot as a traitor.

As soon as lord Wellington became acquainted with the fall of Almeida, he ordered the army to fall back behind the Mondego; but still a considerable degree of inertness pervaded the operations of his antagonist: he hesitated to advance, seeming either disinclined to commence the invasion, or undecided as to the mode of conducting it: he already experienced great difficulty in feeding his men, who by their depredations

and cruelties had rendered the inhabitants in their rear most implacable enemies ; nor could supplies be easily sent from other parts of Spain, on account of the guerilla bands, whose knowledge of the country was so perfect, that they were able to annihilate an escort with very little risk to themselves. Massena also waited till he could be assured of the co-operation of Regnier ; and that general suddenly appeared at Sabugul on the first of September, threatening to advance on Guarda, and turn the right of the British position ; while the French cavalry actually attacked its piquets in front : lord Wellington then drew his infantry behind Celerico, and fixed his cavalry at that place, with posts of observation at Guarda and Trancoso. It appeared to be the design of the French general at this time to advance into Portugal by three different routes, on the lines of Pinhel, Alverca, and Guarda ; but, suddenly changing the plan which his demonstrations indicated, he now concentrated his forces, and commenced a rapid march along the right bank of the Mondego, in the hope of securing Coimbra, before the junction of Hill's corps, no longer under the necessity of watching Regnier, should enable lord Wellington to offer effectual resistance. The road selected by Massena for his advance was so full of natural impediments, as to be considered almost impracticable ; but had he determined to take that on the left bank, by which his antagonist was now retiring, he must previously have encountered the British army in the strong passes of the Estrella, a mountain-chain extending from the Tagus to the Mondego : he therefore chose the road to the northward of this river. In the mean time, reports of the French advance created such a panic in the capital, and such a false coloring was given to all the British operations by the infamous regency, that lord Wellington was under the necessity of remonstrating severely with that body on the nature of their proceedings ; declaring, ' that unless a stop was put to their miserable intrigues, he would advise his own government to withdraw its army.' So mischievous indeed had these proceedings been, that the tract of country between the Mondego and the lines at Torres Vedras still contained provision sufficient to support the French during the ensuing winter ; and the people were still unprepared to expect an enemy, or to attempt a removal of their property. His only choice therefore lay between stopping the invaders on the Mondego, or laying waste the country as he retreated, and driving the wretched inhabitants before him to the shelter of his lines : the consequences of defeat would have been so dreadful, and the probability of it was

so great, when the *matériel* of the enemy's army was compared with that of his own, that prudence obliged his lordship to take the latter course; though he knew how his actions would be misrepresented by the violent faction which opposed all his measures, and was ready to inflame the public mind against all his counsels.

Having come to this determination, he lost no time in retreating; so that he might take every advantage of his advancing foes. As they proceeded with great labor and difficulty along the right bank of the Mondego, he kept a parallel line with their march; and being less encumbered, he so far outstripped them, that by an able and rapid manœuvre during the twentieth and twenty-first of September, he crossed the river, and took up a position in their front, on the Sierra de Busaco. This mountain, about eight miles in length, and abutting on the Mondego, is connected with the Sierra de Caramula by a rugged tract almost impervious to the march of an army: its face is rough, steep, and fit for defence; while the approach to a position taken on its crest is very unfavorable to an attacking army. When this formidable post was occupied, some British officers expressed their fears that Massena would not assail it: lord Wellington thought otherwise; and his ready answer was, 'but if he does, I shall beat him.'⁵ Massena, ignorant respecting the nature of the country, was misled by reports; nor was he a man likely to be deterred by the first difficulty that opposed his progress.

General Hill had not yet joined the British army with his division, and Leith's corps was still engaged in passing the river: consequently, it is possible, that if the French had made their attack instantly, they might have forced the pass; but Massena was not on the spot, and Ney was unwilling to risk a battle on his own responsibility: the favorable moment therefore was lost; and by the twenty-sixth the British army was concentrated in its strong position, covered in front by steep precipices and pathless defiles: on the twenty-fourth, the enemy appeared in force, and skirmished with the British piquets in front of Mortagao; while a party of their cavalry received a severe check from the fourteenth dragoons. Early on the twenty-fifth, the impetuous Crawford moved down from his post, and seemed disposed to renew the scene of the Coa; when the enemy came on so rapidly, that lord Wellington himself was obliged to interfere, and cover the retreat of the light

⁵ Napier, vol. iii. p. 324.

division : all his energy and skill was required to prevent its being seriously engaged : 'howbeit,' says colonel Napier, 'a series of rapid and beautiful movements, a sharp cannonade, and an hour's march, brought every thing back, in good order, to the great position ; but almost at the same moment, the opposite ridge was crowned by the masses of the sixth corps ; and the French batteries opened, as the English troops mounted the steep ascent on which the convent was situated.'

Ney was now anxious to make an immediate onset ; but Massena was ten miles in the rear at Mortagao, and the only favorable opportunity of success was lost ; for the troops of general Leith were but now crossing the river, general Hill's division had not closed up, and only 25,000 men were in line on a sierra extending eight miles. On the twenty-sixth, both Ney and Regnier wrote to the prince of Essling, intimating their desire to attack : every thing however was to await his arrival ; and he did not reach the field till noon, bringing with him the eighth corps : but the situation of his opponents was greatly altered ; the whole sierra was glittering with bayonets, the troops posted in the most advantageous positions, the mountain sides covered with skirmishers, and fifty pieces of artillery placed among projecting rocks, which in some instances formed natural batteries. Ney was now averse to attack ; but Massena was resolved, if possible, to force the British position, relying on the numbers, valor, and discipline of his troops.

Very early on the morning of the twenty-seventh, the French columns were put in motion ; three, under Ney, opposite to the convent ; and two, under Regnier, against the pass of St. Antonio de Cantara, the defence of which was principally entrusted to the third division, commanded by general Picton. At this latter post, a short time before dawn, a sharp fire of musketry was heard ; and soon afterwards fourteen pieces of cannon opened from an opposite height, to cover the advance of a heavy column as it attempted to force the defile : but so incessant a fire was kept up on their flank by the light corps of the division, the seventy-fourth regiment, and a Portuguese battalion in front, that no efforts could succeed ; and they were ultimately compelled to retire in great confusion. During the most critical period, however, a strong column penetrated on the left of the division close to the hill of Busacos, which was occupied by the eighty-eighth, and four companies of the forty-fifth : the combat here was very unequal ; and the enemy, having gained the rocky heights, was on the point of

securing the position, when Picton, leaving the defence of the pass to colonel Mackinnon, galloped toward the left, where he found the eighty-eighth, and the light companies of the seventy-fourth, retiring in disorder before overwhelming masses : with some difficulty he succeeded in rallying those troops ; when the gallant major Smith, placing himself at their head, made a desperate charge on the foe ; while Picton himself headed a battalion of the eighth Portuguese regiment, brought up by major Birmingham at a very critical moment : this joint attack was eminently successful ; the French, fatigued by previous efforts, were driven over the rocks ; and down they went headlong, leaving the mountain side strewn with carcasses and arms. On Picton's return to the pass, he found it resolutely maintained ; and when Leith's brigade advanced to his assistance, he ordered it to march on by the rear toward the left, where it arrived in time to join five companies of the forty-fifth under lieutenant-colonel Mead, and the eighth Portuguese regiment under lieutenant-colonel Douglas, in repelling the last attempt of the enemy at that point.⁶

Ney's attack on the light division under general Crawford, farther to the left, had no better success : the ascent here was even more steep and dangerous than the pass which had foiled Regnier ; while Crawford had made a masterly disposition of his forces.

The French marshal pushed forward two divisions of the sixth corps, the one under Loison, and the other commanded by Marchand ; himself keeping the third in reserve : the first of these, headed by general Simon's brigade, ascended the mountain with astonishing celerity, though penetrated from front to rear by shot from colonel Ross's artillery, and plied incessantly by the musketry of the light troops : their impetuosity however could not be withstood ; the British skirmishers rushed back over the edge of the summit, the artillery was withdrawn, and cries of victory were heard from the advancing columns : at this moment, general Crawford, who had been intently watching the progress of the attack, ordered the forty-third and fifty-second regiments, that were concealed from view by the hollow ground, to advance : a loud shout startled their assailants, among whom a close volley was poured with terrible effect : a rapid charge, which followed, sent 1000 British bayonets over the brow of the mountain ; when 'the enemy, unable to retreat, and afraid to resist, were

⁶ Life of Picton, vol. i. p. 252.

rolled down the steep like a torrent of hailstones urged by a tempestuous wind.⁷ The main body of the British refrained from pursuit; but several companies, which descended after the fugitives, were driven back by the reserve. Marchand's division, which followed the main road, broke into masses; gained a pine wood half-way up the mountain; and sent the light troops toward the highest part: but the difficulty of ascent was so great, that general Pack held the enemy in check; the guards, about half a mile higher up, under general Spencer, cut off all hope of success; and the fire of Crawford's artillery, after the defeat of Loison, flanked the main body of the French in the pine wood. Ney, who was there in person, having sustained the murderous contest for an hour, finally retired; and thus, after prodigious efforts of valor, and a loss of near 5000 men in killed and wounded, the French were unable to force this position, the defence of which cost the allied forces not more than 1300. The Portuguese troops behaved so well in this action, that the commander-in-chief declared them worthy of contending in the same ranks with British soldiers.

As it was expected that Massena would renew his attempt on the twenty-eighth, every preparation was made in the British line to give him another warm reception; but the result of yesterday's conflict had taught him a severe lesson; and by means of a peasant, he had discovered a pass through the Sierra de Caramula, on the British left, leading into the high road to Coimbra, by which the British position might be turned: through this defile the French commander hoped to reach that place before lord Wellington; and to cover his movement, the skirmishing was renewed with great vigor and activity; nor was his project apparent before evening, when the enemy's masses in front were sensibly diminished, and his cavalry descried winding over the distant mountains: Hill's division then crossed the Mondego, to retire on Thomar; while the centre and the left wing defiled in the night along the other roads on Milheada, in the route to Coimbra. Massena vainly hoped, by a rapid movement, to reach this city before the British army; but on the first of October he attacked its outposts, and drove them from the hills bounding the plain of Coimbra to the north: a skirmish of cavalry took place, in which fifty or sixty fell on both sides; and some of our men

⁷ Lord Londonderry's History of the Peninsular War.

were cut down in the very midst of the river : this obliged the light division, which formed the rear-guard, to move hastily through the city, in order to gain the defiles of Condeixa ; and then ensued one of the most dreadful scenes of distress witnessed during this cruel war. The regency had neglected to enforce lord Wellington's instructions ; and the people had neither driven away their cattle, nor moved their corn and other property, nor destroyed their mills : deceived by their own vain hopes, they remained, till the rapid advance of the enemy, and the sudden retreat of the allies, left them no time for preparation, and very little for escape. 'Then,' says lord Londonderry, 'a crowd of men, women, and children, of the sick, the aged, and the infirm, as well as the young and robust, covered the roads and fields in every direction : mothers might be seen, with infants at their breasts, hurrying toward the capital, and weeping as they went ; old men, scarcely able to totter along, made their way, chiefly by the aid of sons and daughters ; while the whole road soon became strewn with bedding, blankets, and other species of household furniture, which the weary fugitives were unable to carry farther.'

At the entrance of the bridge the press was so great, that the troops were obliged to halt for a few moments just under the prison : the jailer had fled with the keys ; and the prisoners, crowding to the windows, were endeavoring to tear down the bars with their hands, and even with their teeth, bellowing in the most frightful manner ; while the bitter lamentations of the multitude increased, and the pistol shots of the cavalry engaged at the ford were heard. Captain William Campbell, an officer on general Crawford's staff, broke open the prison doors, while the troops forced their passage over the bridge ; but the defiles on the other side were so crowded, that no effort could make a way, even for the artillery ; and if a single regiment of French infantry had come up, all must have been destroyed : at last, a passage was opened on the right flank for the guns ; but it was nearly dark when the division reached Condeixa : head quarters were that night at Redinha, and next day at Leiria : both at this place, and at Condeixa, the troops began to plunder, and all the disorders of a retreat had already commenced ; but three men, taken in the fact at Leiria, were hanged on the spot ; and other vigorous measures of lord Wellington restored order, while a contrary line of conduct, pursued by Massena, was very injurious to the discipline of the French troops : the utmost license was permitted

to them at Coimbra; and the time so wasted, from the first to the fourth of October, destroyed every advantage gained by their rapid march.

The prince of Essling had scarcely quitted the city, when Trant, Miller, and Wilson, whose independent corps always hovered round the contending armies, closed on his rear, occupying the sierras on both sides of the Mondego, and cutting off all communication with Almeida. On the evening of the fourth, the French drove the British piquets from Pombal, and next morning pushed on so suddenly to Leiria, as to create considerable confusion; but after some hard fighting in the defiles, that city was cleared, and the army continued its retreat; the right by Thomar and Santarem, the centre by Batalha and Rio Mayor, the left by Alcobaça and Obidos; while a strong Portuguese force was thrown into Peniche. In the mean time, Massena having left his sick and wounded in Coimbra, without a sufficient garrison to protect them, colonel Trant made an attack on that city: about 600 French troops, rallying round the hospital, made a desperate resistance, being supported by such of the invalids within as could crawl to the windows, and use their muskets: at length, finding resistance vain, they surrendered as prisoners of war; and nearly 5000 men were conducted by the colonel to Oporto.

This disaster did not induce Massena to make any alteration in his movements, which he so accelerated, that in Alcoentre he was very near intercepting the British brigade of artillery, the retreat of which was gallantly defended by the sixteenth regiment and the Royals. At Alemquer also, the light division, under general Crawford, was overtaken on the ninth: great confusion ensued; and if his soldiers had not been among the best that were ever collected under a standard, great losses would have occurred. False information respecting their dispersion having reached general Hill at Alhandra, he thought it expedient to make a retrograde movement, in order to protect the passes at Arruda; so that when the enemy was in full march against the lines, the front from Alhandra to Sobral, a distance of about nine miles, was totally unguarded: general Hill, however, whose caution, vigilance, and discretion throughout the whole peninsular campaign were above all praise, quickly ascertained the truth, and regained his former position before daybreak on the eleventh. Soon afterwards, the whole army was safely disposed behind those impregnable lines of Torres Vedras, the formation of which have conferred

as much honor on their projector as any of the great victories which he achieved: they consisted of three distinct ranges of defence; the first, extending from Alhandra on the Tagus to the mouth of the Zizandre on the sea coast, in length about twenty-nine miles; the second, varying from six to ten miles in rear of the front, stretched from Quintella on the Tagus to the mouth of the San Lorenza, twenty-four miles in length; the third, intended to cover a forced embarkation, extended from Passo d'Arcos on the Tagus to the tower of Junquera on the coast, and enclosed within them an intrenched camp, strongly fortified, to protect the point of embarkation: of these stupendous works, the second line was the most formidable, as presenting a shorter range of defence, better salient points, and fewer passes for artillery; secured also by steeper acclivities, stronger forts, heavier guns, and more powerful abattis: the first line was chiefly intended to check the enemy, and enable the army to occupy the second without hurry or confusion: but while Massena had wasted the season of action on the frontier, the first had acquired so much strength by the skill of the British engineers, and the fall of rain, that lord Wellington determined to fix his station in the front: his head quarters were at Pero Negro, near the Secorra, a rock on which a telegraph was erected, communicating with every part of the line.

The troops by which these defences were manned did not amount to much less than 130,000; of which 70,000 were regulars, and half of these were British: the remainder was composed of Portuguese and Spaniards; the latter a wretched crew under Romana; but the former, well officered, and animated by a better spirit. The opposing force was not equal to that for the defence; but all were veteran troops, well disciplined, and accustomed to the art of war. Surprised at the extent and strength of works, the existence of which had but very lately become known to him, Massena employed several days in examining their nature, and endeavoring to discover a spot where he might burst through: but he found every where difficulties not to be surmounted; and while the movements of the allies were free and unfettered by their stupendous works, those of the French army were impeded and cramped by the ground in their front: their dispositions were not made without the intervention of several skirmishes, of which that at Sobral, on the morning of the fourteenth, was the most important; when the enemy, attempting to dislodge the seventy-

first regiment from a field-work, were repulsed, pursued, and driven from their own intrenchments; which however were again evacuated at the approach of the eighth corps.

The war was now reduced to a species of blockade; the object of Massena being to support his army till reinforcements should arrive, and that of lord Wellington to starve his opponents before such an event could take place: for this purpose, he brought down the Portuguese militia from the north, and persuaded Carlos d'España to pass the Tagus with a considerable corps of Spaniards, to co-operate in cutting off all communication with the French rear, and as it were enclosing the blockaders. Massena soon began to send movable columns throughout the country for provisions, and commenced the formation of magazines at Santarem; but the excesses of his soldiers had rendered the inhabitants bitter in their hatred; and though his foraging parties for a time contrived to effect a miserable maintenance, yet a thoughtless and wasteful expenditure soon exhausted the neighborhood, and they were obliged to extend their depredations over a wider range: then it was, that the independent corps of Portuguese and Spaniards sought revenge for desolated homes and slaughtered kindred; surprising and attacking the French in their expeditions, and slaughtering them with as little mercy as they had shown to others.

Within the lines, the state of the British troops was totally different: free communications with the sea, and with the British fleet, secured to them plenty of provisions; and, as the forts were chiefly garrisoned by native troops, their duty was comparatively light: officers and men therefore were permitted to enjoy the pleasures of rural life in a most beautiful and romantic country; and as the weather was remarkably fine, the face of war never put on so cheerful an appearance: but too much time was not wasted in these enjoyments: new works were every day constructed, and the old ones strengthened, until the position became perfectly impregnable: nor was the discipline and instruction of our allies neglected: every day saw improvements wrought among the Portuguese troops, of which their country subsequently reaped the benefit; and the commander in chief soon had the satisfaction to perceive that he might place full confidence in their valor and exertions.

But while the two armies thus continued in a state of mutual observation, lord Wellington was exposed to difficulties and

intrigues, which nothing but the resources of his great mind, and his imperturbable spirit, could have successfully combated. The presence of the enemy in the heart of the country, the destruction of property, and the influx of inhabitants into the district around the capital, created great distress and financial embarrassment; of which the faction of the patriarch took advantage to oppose all the measures both of lord Wellington and Mr. Stuart. Instead of performing their own duties, they had all along pretended to canvass the propriety of military operations: having assumed as a fact, that the struggle ought to have been maintained on the frontier, they had given little or no assistance to the British general; and now they not only endeavored to stimulate public hatred against him, as the author of all the national misery; but established a regular and systematic opposition to his plans of defence.

In addition to this source of annoyance, representations were sent home by British officers of high rank, respecting the gloomy state of affairs, which operated strongly on the fears of the cabinet: their correspondence was very properly transmitted by lord Liverpool to the commander in chief, and his opinion on it earnestly demanded.

‘Thus beset on every side,’ says the peninsular historian, ‘the English general rose like a giant.’ Without noticing the arguments or forebodings in these letters, he entered into a calm review of the grounds on which he had undertaken the defence of Portugal; and having shown, that, up to the present period, his views had been in every instance borne out by the result, he reasonably asked that confidence should be placed on his judgment regarding future operations; the probable course of which he proceeded to trace with an intuitive sagacity, to which events corresponded in a most remarkable manner. Having replied, with the conscious superiority of genius, to his own government, he next turned to the vile regency of Portugal; and, after severely reproaching them for their unpatriotic and deceitful conduct, he threatened to withdraw the British army wholly from the country, unless the practices of which he complained were amended: with regard to his own plans, he asserted, ‘that the king of England, and the prince regent of Portugal, had entrusted him with the conduct of military operations, and he would not suffer any person to interfere with them: he knew what to do, and would not alter his plans to meet the senseless suggestions of the regency: let the latter

look to their own duties: let them provide food for their troops and people, while they preserve tranquillity in the capital.'

The violent temper however of the patriarch, and the base principles of the Souzas, would probably have defeated all the dispositions of our great commander, if lord Wellesley had not held a place at this juncture in the British cabinet: nothing but encouragement from Brazil was required to give full effect to the plots of the regency; and this most assuredly would not have been long wanting, but for the strenuous efforts made by the noble marquis, in counteracting intrigues at the court of Rio Janeiro: by his means power was given to lord Wellington, which extended even to the removal of principal Souza from the regency; and of lord Strangford, the British envoy, from his office at Brazil: the subsidies were placed under the intire control of himself and Mr. Stuart: admiral Berkley, as well as Mr. Stuart, was appointed to a place in the regency; and Portugal was in a greater degree subjected to British superintendence and control. Although he was so strongly armed, lord Wellington removed no person from office; but maintained a line of conduct, in which it is difficult to determine which was most admirable, his sagacity or his temper: still fresh embarrassments arose, not only from the deficiency of supplies for the Portuguese troops, and their consequent desertion; but from the continued interference of the regency with military plans, the deplorable state of their finances, and their violent conduct toward their protectors. All these things occasioned serious apprehensions in the mind of lord Wellington, lest his antagonist might be able to retain his post until an overwhelming force should arrive to aid him: fortunately however the opinion which Massena had acquired from deserters respecting the vast strength of the lines, added to sickness in his own army, the interception of convoys, and losses occasioned by the irregular troops in his rear, determined him to withdraw from a position which he had obstinately maintained, until the country for many leagues behind him was reduced to the state of a desert. Harassed and hopeless, toward the end of October he withdrew his hospitals and stores to Santarem: on the thirty-first, 2000 men forded the Zezere, to cover the construction of a bridge; while general Foy, with a small escort, proceeded to France, for the purpose of carrying information of the state of affairs to the emperor. On the sixth of November, the bridge was destroyed by a flood: but it was speedily restored; and a second built higher up the river:

after which, Massena began his retrograde movements with great secrecy and caution; and succeeded, with only a small loss, in concentrating his forces at Santarem. On the seventeenth, lord Wellington prepared to assail what he thought to be the rear-guard of a retreating army; but Massena had no intention to fall back any farther: 'his great qualities,' says colonel Napier, 'were roused by the difficulty of his situation; he had carried off his army with admirable arrangement; and his new position was chosen with equal sagacity and resolution.' He considered both the political and military effect of his present attitude: while he occupied Santarem he appeared to besiege Lisbon, where he encouraged the disaffected party, and also strengthened opposition in the British parliament: by placing Loison's division in Golegao, and covering its rich plain with the second corps, he obtained the necessary supplies for his troops; while he expected momentarily to be joined by the ninth corps, which had been added to his command, together with various detachments, and a large convoy of provisions, which general Gardanne was escorting with 5000 troops from Ciudad Rodrigo; and it was calculated, that before the end of January the French army would obtain a reinforcement of more than 40,000 men. Lord Wellington's lines of defence, therefore, were still farther strengthened, and a chain of forts erected parallel to the Tagus: at his earnest request, also, 5000 men were ordered to join him from England, and three regiments from Sicily.

We must now briefly advert to events which took place in the vicinity of Cadiz. When the chain of French forts round the harbor was completed, and the flotillas at San Lucar, Santa Maria, Puerto Real, and Chiclana were ready for action, Soult repaired in person to San Lucar, at the mouth of the Guadalquivir; and on the last night of October, he succeeded in eluding the British fleet, and safely conveying a flotilla into the canal of the Trocadero, where about 130 armed vessels and transports were now assembled: at the Trocadero point, were immense batteries, and some enormous pieces of ordnance, called cannon-mortars, cast in Seville: these, being placed in slings, threw shells with such prodigious force as to range over Cadiz, a distance of more than 5000 yards: but as they were partly loaded with lead to produce this effect, and their charge of powder was too small for a destructive explosion, they produced more alarm than mischief in the city. Soult's main design was to destroy the opposite fort of Puntales; then to pass the bay in his flotilla, and fix his army between the

Isla de Leon and Cadiz. General Graham, who commanded there, although his army had been partly diminished by draughts to reinforce lord Wellington, took as active means as the miserable regency would permit, to strengthen the land defences; while admiral Keats drew thither all the armed craft from Gibraltar to augment the flotilla: but neither their entreaties, though warmly seconded by Sir Henry Wellesley, the British ambassador, nor the urgency of the danger, could overcome Spanish apathy; and the end of December approached, ere Graham, after many sharp altercations, could obtain permission to put the interior line of the Cortadura into such a state of defence, as would prevent a sudden and successful disembarkation of the enemy: but while Soult was meditating an attack, the events in Portugal counteracted his designs: the first instructions for a change of plan, sent to him by Napoleon, were intercepted by the guerillas; but at the end of December duplicates arrived, requiring him to co-operate with Massena; and he repaired to Seville, carrying with him Latour Maubourg's cavalry and 5000 infantry. No specific operation however was pointed out to him; and such was lord Wellington's precaution, such also the activity of the *partidas*, that nothing was known respecting Massena at Seville; nor could any communication be effected between the two marshals. Under these circumstances, Soult, considering that Sebastiani was fully occupied, and that the blockade of Cadiz, together with the protection of Seville, would not permit a draught of more than 20,000 men to be made from his army, represented to the emperor, that with such a force he durst not penetrate into the Alemtejo; which movement would oblige him to leave Olivenza and Badajos in his rear, with two Spanish corps under Ballasteros and Mendizabel; while Romana could bring 10,000 troops, without reckoning the British, against his front: he therefore demanded permission to besiege those two places; and Napoleon consented to his request: accordingly, after measures had been taken to secure Andalusia in his absence, Soult prepared a force of 16,000 infantry, 4000 cavalry, and 54 guns, with all the necessary articles for a siege. As general Hill at this time was obliged to return home on account of ill health, a large body of Portuguese troops was incorporated with the British on the Tagus, and the command transferred to marshal Beresford, under whose orders also was the Spanish brigade of Carlos d'España stationed at Abrantes: his instructions were, to prevent the passage of the river; to

intercept all communication between Massena and Soult; to join the main army by Vellada if in retreat, and by Abrantes if in advance: hence, fixing his head quarters at Chamusca, he disposed his troops along the Tagus, from Almeyrim to the mouth of the Zezere. It is not necessary to notice all the attacks made by the irregular forces and Portuguese militia on French detachments, while each commander waited for reinforcements which might enable him to assume offensive operations. It could however have been no source of satisfaction to Massena, who was sent, as 'the favorite child of victory,' for the purpose of driving the British leopards into the sea, to see them crouched before him, ready to make the fatal spring, as soon as he should be obliged to turn his back on their position.

Our domestic annals this year were marked by the death of two distinguished individuals; Mr. Windham, and lord Collingwood. The eloquence of the former rose nearer to that of Mr. Burke than any of his contemporaries; for he had an animated manner, and a fertile genius; his reading was extensive, his memory retentive, his intellect acute, and his mind very philosophical: his name will ever remain dear to the British soldier, on account of the bill for limited service, which he introduced into parliament. The noble admiral died in the discharge of those weighty and important duties, under which his bodily powers at last gave way: he had been repeatedly urged by his friends to surrender his command, and to seek that repose which was necessary to recruit his wasted strength; but his constant reply was, 'that his life was his country's, in whatever way it might be required of him.' He refused therefore to quit his post, until he should be regularly relieved; though he ventured at times to urge the necessity of his return on the admiralty's notice: but his services appeared so necessary to ministers,⁸ that all his applications were disregarded, and the sacrifice of his life was demanded: it was cheerfully granted; and this incomparable man died at sea, not having resigned his command until he became incapable of enduring the slightest fatigue: his body was brought home, and buried in St. Paul's cathedral, by the side of that illustrious

⁸ So high was the opinion entertained of his judgment, that he was consulted from all quarters, and on all occasions, on questions of general policy, of regulation, and even of trade.—Life of Collingwood, vol. ii. p. 409.

hero, whom he so well seconded on the glorious day of Trafalgar. His title became extinct at his death; for the only favor which he ever condescended to ask,—that those honors he had so nobly won, might be continued in the female line—was denied by ministerial and courtly ingratitude.

The British government having found it expedient to send an envoy to the court of Persia, an ambassador from the schah was on the seventeenth of January presented with great ceremony to the queen, into whose hands he delivered presents, consisting of three boxes of jewels, several splendid shawls, and a curious carpet. Soon after the battle of Eylau, Buonaparte had sent general Gardanne as French envoy to the Persian court: this embassy, according to de Bourrienne,⁹ though it related more immediately to a diversion against the eastern provinces of Russia, was connected with ideas which the French emperor had entertained at the very dawn of his power: he wished to strike England in the very heart of her Asiatic dominions. ‘Circumstances, however,’ says the historian, ‘did not permit Napoleon to give it all the importance he desired: he contented himself with sending a few officers of engineers and artillery to Persia, who, on their arrival, were astonished at the number of English they found there.’ On the third of July, lord Grenville was installed chancellor of the university of Oxford, having carried his election to that high office against two competitors, lord chancellor Eldon, and the duke of Beaufort. This year serious apprehensions began to be entertained, on account of the quantity of gold coin sent out of the kingdom: persons were employed to purchase it at a price beyond its intrinsic value; and indictments against some who sold guineas at this rate, were laid in the court of king’s bench: the counsel however of those who were found guilty took legal objections to the verdict, subject to the opinion of the judges. The amount of bank paper in circulation on the twelfth of January this year, was £14,668,640 in notes of five pounds, and above that sum; £5,854,170 in notes below five pounds; and £884,120 in Bank post bills.

The records of the year were distinguished by the trial of a celebrated character, Mr. W. Cobbett, for what was denominated a libel on the German legion, which had been

⁹ Vol. iii. p. 63.

marched to Littleport in the isle of Ely to superintend the flogging of some British militiamen. The defendant was sentenced to a fine of £1000, and two years' imprisonment in Newgate; an award, which did not tend to mitigate the acrimony of that caustic writer's attacks on his political adversaries.

CHAP. LII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1811.

Opening of parliament by the regent—His sentiments regarding the present cabinet, &c.—Distress of the times—Subject of military discipline—Report of the bullion committee—Conduct of lord King, and consequent resolution of parliament—Lord Sidmouth's motion respecting dissenting preachers—Affairs of the Irish catholics—Amendment of the criminal law—Restoration of the duke of York—Disturbances in Ireland; and of the manufacturing districts in England—Dreadful murders in London—General state of Europe and America—Affairs of Spain—Soult's invasion of Estremadura—Siege of Badajos—Movement in Andalusia, leading to the battle of Barosa, &c.—Fall of Badajos—Massena's retreat from Santarem commences—Lord Wellington's pursuit—Quarrel between Massena and Ney—Massena crosses the frontier—Almeida invested by the British—Lord Wellington sets off to visit marshal Beresford in Estremadura—Operations of the British army about Badajos—Lord Wellington's return to his army in the north—Massena's advance—Battle of Fuentes Onoro—Massena resigns the command to Marmont—Lord Wellington sets out for Badajos—Operations of marshal Beresford in that quarter—Soult's advance from Andalusia—Battle of Albuera—Lord Wellington's arrival—Attack on Badajos, which fails—Positions of the British and French armies—Soult and Marmont retire—French operations in Catalonia and Valencia, &c.—Lord Wellington's position with regard to the Portuguese government—His resolute but judicious conduct—Returns to his army on the Coa—Grievances which he endured—Advance of Marmont—Combat of El Bodon—Subsequent movements, and investment of Ciudad Rodrigo—Remarkable exploit of Sir Rowland Hill at Arroyo Molino—Suchet's operations, capture of Murviedro, and investment of Valencia—Naval victory of captain Hoste in the Adriatic—Action of captain Barrie in Sagone-bay—Of captains Ferris and Richardson at the mouth of the

Garonne—Capture of French frigates off Madagascar—Conquest of Java—Election of a chancellor at Cambridge.

THE prince of Wales, having been installed regent, opened parliament, on the twelfth of February, by commission; a circumstance, which tended to confirm an opinion prevailing in some quarters, that he endured, rather than adopted, the present administration. As the address did not provoke a division, none was attempted; but the minister replied to some observations of Mr. Whitbread in a manner that indicated full confidence in the security of his situation: in fact, the prince had already begun to withdraw his confidence from that party which had long been distinguished by the peculiar title of 'his friends,' and very readily acquiesced in the retention of power by the present cabinet. We often err in referring to a single cause actions that proceed from mixed motives: some have ascribed this change in the regent's sentiments to an 'impulse of filial duty and affection, which,' as he expressed himself in a letter to Mr. Perceval, 'led him to retain the services of that gentleman and his colleagues, lest any act of the regent might in the smallest degree interfere with the progress of the king's recovery:' others considered his decision as the result of indolent and sensual habits, leading him to deprecate change altogether; especially, since he calculated on a readier compliance with his desires from the men in office, than from the uncompromising spirit of lords Grey and Grenville: others again attributed the whole to an intrigue begun and carried on by Sheridan, who had long lost the confidence of his party, and who took this opportunity of gratifying both his vanity and revenge.¹⁰ Probably each of these causes had more or less effect in determining the prince to preserve the cabinet: the nation in general applauded his resolution; since the opposition possessed more of parliamentary influence than of popular support: the whigs had not yet learned to identify themselves with the interests and privileges of the people; and though they agreed in advocating the great cause of religious liberty, yet in this respect they had advanced beyond the opinions of the age; and their support of the catholic question tended to alienate from them the affections of the people as well as of the sovereign: they still however held fast their opinion, that the present ministry would expire with the restrictions imposed on the regent; and, accordingly, they extolled his con-

¹⁰ A full account of this affair is given in the second volume of Moore's Life of Sheridan.

duct, when, with a moderation not often adopted by princes, he declined a provision for his household, which Mr. Perceval intended to bring before parliament; declaring, that he would not add to the burdens of his people by any augmentation of his public state. Had he persisted in such sentiments during the increasing difficulties of the times, posterity would have judged more favorably of his sincerity. In fact, commercial distress was now felt so severely, as to attract the attention of government; and on the first of March, a committee of twenty-one members of the house of commons was appointed to investigate the state of commercial credit: on the eleventh, their report was taken into consideration; and an act passed, empowering certain commissioners to employ £6,000,000 of the public money, in assisting such merchants as should be able to give security for the repayment of any sum advanced: still the distress continued to increase, and displayed itself by frightful lists of bankruptcies in every gazette, which were mainly attributed to the American embargo, to the operation of the Milan decrees, and to the confiscation of British property on the continent. In the course of this session, the subject of military punishment came several times before the house; and, in speaking of the abominable excess to which this species of torture was carried, Sir Francis Burdett nobly distinguished himself:—‘There were but few persons,’ said the honorable baronet, ‘who knew what was the dreadful manner in which this torture was inflicted: the instrument, formed of pieces of whipcord, each as thick as a quill, and knotted, was applied by the main strength of fresh men, relieving each other, until human nature could bear no more; and then, if pains were taken to recover the unhappy sufferer, it was only that he might undergo fresh agony. The most disgusting part of the whole transaction was the attendance of a surgeon, whose business seemed to be a profanation of the healing art; to detect any lingering principle of life, which could enable the wretched man to undergo more suffering: he did not believe, that in the description which the poets gave of hell, there were any tortures equal to what is called a military punishment.’ He also declared that the inefficacy of this infliction was not less remarkable than its cruelty; and he instanced the case of the fifteenth regiment of dragoons, which had been noted for its services in the field, and for its peaceable, modest, and proper demeanor at home, before the duke of Cumberland acquired the command: until that time, punishments in it had seldom been known; but it was a melancholy thing to state,

that more cruel punishments took place within a few months after the appointment of his royal highness, than had occurred in that regiment since the period of the seven years' war; and the state of the men was one of turbulence and discontent. Sir Francis moved an address on the subject to the prince regent, which was ably seconded by Mr. Brougham, who contrasted the conduct of the duke of Cumberland with that of the duke of Gloucester, whose regiment was in the highest state of discipline, though he had, in public orders, thanked his lieutenant-colonel for not having had a single flogging in it during two years and a half. Mr. Manners Sutton, judge-advocate, thought the statements he had heard were overcharged, though he admitted the importance of the subject: indeed he showed this, when he brought forward the mutiny bill; in which, greatly to his honor, he had introduced a clause, giving a discretionary power to courts martial of awarding a sentence of imprisonment instead of corporal punishment: for so barbarous were our military laws before this period, that no option lay between torture or death. Several other members spoke on both sides; but the house rejected the address by an immense majority. On another occasion, its members showed still less sympathy with the sufferings of their fellow-subjects, when a case of military torture, carried to an extreme totally inconsistent with the innate laws of human nature, was exposed by colonel Wardle: the sufferer in this instance was Curtis, a corporal in a militia regiment, who, having been charged with exciting discontent among the men on account of a deficiency of proper clothing, and with speaking disrespectfully of his colonel, was brought before a court-martial, which acquitted him of the first part of the charge, but found him guilty of the second, and sentenced him to receive one thousand lashes! At the time of its execution, he was stated to have been so sick and weak, as to require support while they tied him to the halberds: he then received 200 strokes, inflicted with extreme severity; and was confined to the hospital, under the endurance of excruciating agony, from the fifth of August to the fourteenth of November; when he had the option of undergoing the rest of this horrible sentence, or of serving in a condemned regiment for life in the West Indies; and rather than expire under the lash, he chose the latter alternative. The only person found to vote with colonel Wardle for inquiry into this case, was colonel Langton, commander of the regiment in which Curtis had served; and who, being in his place as member of the house, stated his conviction, that he had done

nothing that was not absolutely necessary for military discipline. This apathy of their representatives necessarily tended to increase the desire of parliamentary reform among the people.

The report of the bullion committee was taken into consideration on the sixth of May ; when a series of resolutions was moved by Mr. Horner, who contended that the standard value of gold, as a measure of exchange, could not fluctuate, though its real price was subject to the variation arising from an increase or diminution of supply ; that bank-paper, measured by this standard, was so depreciated, as to render our continental exchanges unfavorable, and to advance prices, occasioning great losses to creditors, and injuring all incomes which depended on money payments ; while the only effectual remedy for these evils was the resumption of cash payments by the Bank. Mr. George Rose however had the hardihood to contend that the paper currency was not depreciated ; that Bank issues could not affect the circulation ; that the resumption of cash payments would not bring back to that circulation a single guinea ; that the political and commercial relations of this country with foreign states were sufficient to account for the unfavorable state of the exchanges ; and that, although it might be expedient to remove the restrictions on cash payments whenever it was compatible with the public interest ; yet to fix a definite period, nearer than six months after the conclusion of peace, would be a measure extremely dangerous. A series of counter resolutions, founded on these reasonings, was brought forward by Mr. Vansittart, secretary of the treasury, and adopted, after repeated discussions, by a large majority. It soon appeared however that the question was not set at rest by this decision : the depreciation of the paper currency became progressive ; the difference between bank notes and gold coin began to be felt in the market price of all commodities ; and lord King, being determined to bring the matter to an issue, sent notices to his tenants, that, as they had agreed to pay their rents in good and lawful money of Great Britain, and as he would no longer accept of bank notes at their nominal value, he expected them to pay either in guineas, or in an equivalent weight of Portuguese gold coin, or in bank notes sufficient to purchase it at the market price. 'I saw,' said his lordship in the house of lords, 'no course left but to give up my property ; or to hold it at such value as the Bank might choose to put on it ; or to avail myself of the means which the law as yet afforded me for its preservation.' Lord Stanhope, anticipating

much mischief from this proceeding, introduced a bill into the house of lords, prohibiting the payment of gold coin at a higher value than that fixed by the Mint, and the receipt of bank notes for a smaller sum than that for which they were issued. On its first reading, this bill was opposed by ministers as unnecessary ; but on the second, they discovered their error, and it passed into a law.

On the twentieth of May, Mr. Perceval brought forward his budget : to meet the current expenses of the year, including £2,000,000 granted to the government of Portugal, and £100,000 to its distressed subjects, a supply of £54,308,450 was required ; and the means of answering this demand were drawn from the surplus of the consolidated fund, a loan of £12,000,000, an additional vote of credit, and the war taxes, to which an increase was made by duties on timber, foreign linens, and pearl ashes : a proposed tax on American cotton wool was abandoned ; strong opposition being made to the principle of taxing a raw material.

The debates of this session, relating to matters of religion, excited considerable interest. A great sensation was raised among the dissenters by a bill which lord Sidmouth introduced, as an amendment of the toleration act ; prohibiting any person from obtaining a license to preach, unless he obtained the recommendation of at least six respectable householders of the congregation to which he belonged, such congregation being willing to listen to his instructions : it also required that those who intended to be itinerants should bring testimonials, stating that they were men of sober life and character, and qualified to perform the functions to which they aspired. At first sight, this bill appeared calculated to effect much good, in preventing improper and unaccredited persons from assuming the most important of all duties : but as it was considered liable to be perverted to purposes of intolerance, it encountered the most vehement opposition. In forty-eight hours 336 petitions against it were poured into the house of lords, where it was strongly denounced by lord Holland ; and when it came to be read a second time, it was met by 500 more petitions, and rejected without a division.

As an opinion prevailed among the Irish catholics that the prince was favorable to their claims, his investment with power contributed to increase their activity and zeal : one of the measures which they had proposed was the establishment of a general committee in Dublin, composed of delegates elected by each county ; but this being deemed unlawful, Mr. Wellesley Pole,

the Irish secretary, sent a circular letter to the sheriffs and county magistrates, requiring them to arrest all persons engaged in such elections. This letter excited much discussion in parliament; when Mr. Wellesley Pole stated, in explanation, that this committee was not intended, like that of 1809, to confine itself to the business of petitioning; but undertook the management of catholic affairs generally, and imitated in some respects the forms of the house of commons: the opinion of the great law officers had been taken by the lord lieutenant; and the attorney-general had drawn up the circular. Petitions prepared by the committee were presented to both houses: that in the commons was enforced by Mr. Grattan with his usual brilliancy of eloquence, and seconded by Mr. Ponsonby; but the minister, defying the accusation of bigoted intolerance, strongly opposed the grant of power to men whom he thought likely to abuse it; and the petition was rejected by a hundred and forty-six voices against eighty-three: it shared the same fate in the lords, where the bishop of Norwich differed with the majority, from a desire to promote the public good by a union of talents, and from a conviction that the claims of the petitioners might be safely granted.

The statutes of the session were, as usual, more numerous than important: two of the number may be mentioned as possessing greater interest than the rest, since they tended to diminish, in the instances of stealing linen and cotton from fields and outbuildings, that long list of offences, to which our law assigned the punishment of death: this mitigation of the criminal code was due to the exertions of Sir Samuel Romilly. Three other bills of a similar tendency, brought in by that enlightened legislator, were passed by the commons, but thrown out in the other house, through deference to the opinion of its law lords; men, not always the most competent to determine on the reform of law, although they may be its best expounders.

One of the earliest acts of the prince, after his assumption of the regency, was to restore the duke of York to the post of commander-in-chief: this measure induced lord Milton to propose a vote of censure on its responsible advisers; in which he was supported by Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Whitbread, and lord Althorp. Mr. Perceval readily acknowledged the responsibility of ministers regarding the measure in question; but contended, that when Sir David Dundas expressed a wish to retire, they could have no hesitation respecting the person whom they should recommend to supply his place: the emi-

nent services rendered to the army by the duke of York left them no choice; especially, as no resolution had passed to preclude his restoration. It appeared that a reaction in favor of his royal highness had taken place within as well as without the house: several members expressed regret on account of their former votes; and Mr. Ponsonby himself, the leader of the opposition, voted against the motion, which was negatived by an immense majority. His majesty's health, in the early part of the year, underwent some slight variations, with lucid, or rather, tranquil intervals; but the report of the queen's council, a few days before the prorogation of parliament, which took place on the twenty-fourth of July, put an end to all hopes of his being able to resume the functions of royalty.

The rejection of the petition from the Roman catholics of Ireland, and more especially the secretary's circular, called forth much excitement and energy among that large body of British subjects: on the ninth of July, a meeting was held in Dublin, at which resolutions were passed to form a committee, consisting of all catholic peers, and their eldest sons, baronets, and prelates, with ten delegates from each county, in order to prepare petitions for the repeal of the penal laws, and to keep up communication and co-operation among themselves. In consequence, a proclamation was issued by the Irish government, quoting a section of the convention act, and declaring its intention to enforce legal penalties against such persons as should proceed to elect deputies, managers, or delegates to the catholic committee: on the day following, however, the general committee was held in Capel-street, the earl of Fingal being in the chair; and a resolution was passed, purporting, that the committee, relying on their constitutional rights, and conscious that they were not transgressing the laws, were determined to persevere in meeting for the sole purpose of petitioning; after which, conceiving that the convention act did not apply to their case, they proceeded, as if they imagined the Irish government would not act on its own proclamation: in this, however, they were mistaken; for on the ninth of August, five gentlemen, who were present at the election of delegates in Liffey-street chapel, were arrested, and carried before the chief justice of the king's bench, on the charge of being elected delegates, or of being present and aiding at such election.

In the mean time, the general committee of 300 delegated catholics met on the nineteenth of October, within the Circus at Dublin, in the presence of a vast concourse of spectators; when, lord Fingal being called on to preside, the draught of a

petition to parliament was proposed by lord Netterville, and adopted by the assembly : the chair was vacated, the meeting dissolved, and the members began to disperse in little more than a quarter of an hour : two magistrates then made their appearance ; but, under such circumstances, were unable to act. On the twenty-first of November, the trial of Dr. Sheridan, one of the five arrested delegates, came on ; and the public mind in Ireland waited the event with feelings of intense anxiety : thirty-three jurymen answered to their names ; of whom, twenty-two were challenged by the crown, but none by the traverser. The case turned essentially on the construction of a single sentence ; the convention act declaring certain meetings, called together under the 'pretence' of petitioning, to be illegal ; whereas it was contended, in this instance, that petitioning was not a pretence, but the real purpose. The attorney-general maintained, that, in a legal point of view, the terms were synonymous ; and the chief justice, coinciding with him in opinion, summed up his charge decidedly adverse to the accused : the jury, all protestants, took an hour and a half to consider their verdict ; and no language, it is said, could describe the anxiety manifested by the crowds in court, in the hall, and in all the avenues leading to the seat of justice : when they returned, there was a deep silence for almost a minute ; and on a verdict of acquittal being delivered, a peal of applause rang through the court and galleries, which shook the judicial bench ; and the overwhelming shouts of popular enthusiasm were heard over a great part of the city. The remaining prosecutions were abandoned, and the arrested persons commenced actions against the chief justice, by whose warrant they had been apprehended : a third meeting, however, of the catholic committee was dispersed on the twenty-third of December ; and the chairmen, lords Fingal and Netterville, were arrested : but on the twenty-sixth, an aggregate assembly met, and passed a series of resolutions, denouncing as tyrannical, and defying as illegal, the acts of the Irish government ; ordering also, that a petition for the redress of grievances should be presented to the regent, at the expiration of his restrictions.

England, at this time, was far from tranquil, especially in its manufacturing districts ; where a spirit of licentiousness, and daring defiance of the laws, gave origin to that system of outrage, which led, in the following year, to the formidable riots of the Luddites. This began among the stocking-weavers of Nottinghamshire, who found so little employment

for their industry, that they were reduced to a state of extreme indigence: attributing this to the newly-invented frames, which, by diminishing manual labor, lessened the demand for their exertions, and asserting that many masters offered wages too low for their support, they assembled in crowds, and proceeded to wreak their vengeance on the obnoxious machinery: they then entered into correspondence with discontented manufacturers in other counties, whom they exhorted to redress their grievances by a spirited combination. The metropolis was terrified this winter by murders of the most dreadful description in the neighborhood of Wapping: the atrocious and unparalleled nature of those acts, the secrecy with which they were committed, and the extreme difficulty of tracing the perpetrators by the utmost vigilance and activity of the police, made a singular impression on the public mind: many thought that the very character of the British nation was changed; that a regular system of murder and assassination was laid, and would, as opportunities occurred, be acted on; so that, under this general and undefined alarm, rest fled from the pillow of thousands; and individuals, despairing of assistance from society, began to take measures for self-protection. The circumstances that led to this state of public feeling were briefly these: on the eighth of December, the family of Mr. T. Marr, silk-mercantile, 29, Ratcliffe-highway, consisting of himself, his wife, an infant son only fourteen weeks old, and an apprentice, were all found murdered: the servant girl, having been sent out on Saturday night, at twelve, to purchase some oysters for supper, and to pay a baker's bill, returned in about twenty minutes, and found the shutters closed, the door fast, and no appearance of light within: having alarmed some neighbors, the door was burst open; and it is supposed that the murderer or murderers then escaped at the back of the premises: nothing was taken from the house, although £152 in cash were found in a tin box, beside four or five pounds in Mr. Marr's pockets. The assassins left behind them a large shipwright's maul, a ripping chisel of iron eighteen inches long, and a wooden mallet with a head about four inches square. Before the alarm excited by this horrid crime had subsided, between eleven and twelve at night on the nineteenth, the neighborhood of New Gravel-lane was alarmed by a cry of murder from a person descending in his shirt from an upper window of the King's Arms public house, kept by a Mr. Williamson: he was a lodger; and deposed before the magistrates, that, after he had retired to rest, he was roused by a voice crying out, 'We shall

all be murdered :’ after this, he cautiously went down stairs ; and, looking through the glass window of the tap-room, saw a powerful, well-made man, dressed in a shaggy great-coat, stooping over the body of Mrs. Williamson, apparently rifling her pockets ; while his ears were assailed by the deep groans of a person, as in the agonies of death. Terrified beyond measure, he made his way up stairs again, and escaped as above mentioned : when he gave the alarm, two resolute men broke open the door, and found the mistress of the house and the maid servant, lying one on the other near the kitchen fire, with their throats cut from ear to ear : continuing their search, they proceeded to the cellar, where they found Mr. Williamson, also quite dead, one of his legs being broken, and his head nearly severed from the body ; having evidently made a determined resistance : the assassins however had again escaped, being favored by an extensive piece of waste ground behind the premises. Large rewards, amounting to nearly £1500, for the discovery of the murderers, were offered by government, and other public bodies : several persons were taken up on suspicion ; and very strong evidence was adduced against an Irish sailor, named John Williams. This man lodged at the Pear-tree public house, from which the very maul used in the massacre of the Marr family had been missing : a woman, who washed his linen, deposed to one of his shirts having been bloody and torn ; other witnesses proved that he was near Williamson’s house on the night of the murder, and that he was well acquainted with both families ; while John Harris, a fellow-lodger, deposed to his coming home about one o’clock on the night of the first murder ; and to some other circumstances, strongly tending to fix on him the guilt of both. On this evidence, the prisoner was committed to Coldbath-fields prison ; but he defeated the ends of justice, by hanging himself with his own neckcloth, from the rail within his cell, on which the bed and clothes are placed in the day time. A coroner’s verdict of *felo de se* being returned, the body of this supposed miscreant was exposed on a raised platform ; and, having been paraded round the neighborhood, amid the execrations of the populace, was consigned to the earth, at a place where four roads meet, with all the circumstances of ignominy due to such atrocious crimes. Blame was justly imputed to those who had the custody of Williams ; and the public alarm did not subside for a very considerable length of time.

From occurrences at home, we must now revert to the state of Europe. Persevering in his efforts to destroy the commerce

of England, Buonaparte ordered the French flag to be hoisted at Hamburg on the first of January ; and that city was now declared to be part of the French empire : the conscription law was applied to the levying of seamen in the thirty maritime departments, and many conscripts of the four ensuing years were destined to the service of the navy : at Antwerp, twenty ships of the line were ordered to be built, and the basin was rendered capable of containing fifty sail : Spanish prisoners were employed in the dock-yards and fortifications ; and men of all nations were engaged to man the fleets with which Britain was to be subdued. On the twentieth of April, Napoleon's cup of prosperity seemed to be full, when a son was born to him ; and the ancient title of ' king of Rome ' was revived for this infant, apparently destined to rule over an empire more extensive than that of Charlemagne. With conscious pride, the emperor declared to his legislative body, that French dominion, during the last year, had been extended over sixteen departments, containing five millions of people ; that the mouths of the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt, together with the whole course of the latter river, were now French ; that improvements on a gigantic scale had taken place over the whole territory ; while its finances were in such a state, that France could go on ten years without borrowing money : yet, at this moment, the French people, having lost all their colonies, were substituting roasted horse-beans for coffee, and extracting sugar from beet-root ! Accompanied by his young empress, Napoleon visited Ostend, Antwerp, and Amsterdam, where he announced the division of the departments of Holland, and their proportion of the annual expenses : he also established two academies, and several schools, in which the French language was to be taught : but when he returned to Paris, in the beginning of November, he found it necessary to call out 120,000 conscripts of the year 1812. He now felt that a rupture with Russia, offended as she was by the seizure of Oldenburg, the extension of the grand duchy of Warsaw, and the continued occupation of Dantzic, had become inevitable ; while all the cabinets of Europe were anxious to break their fetters, and the people ardently desired an order of things less fatal to their industry and trade. For some time it had been apparent that the cordiality between the two emperors had greatly decreased ; when Napoleon, in an answer to his council of commerce, complained that Russia had not caused his decrees to be respected ; adding, ' I am, and always will be, master of the Baltic : ' yet, where, at that time, could

the aristocracy of Russia have found a market for timber, pitch, tallow, and hemp, almost the sole produce of their vast estates, except in England? and where was the power, by which Alexander might control the aristocracy of his unwieldy empire? If the continental system, therefore, of Napoleon was to be maintained, it became necessary for him to reduce Russia to the same degree of dependency in which Prussia and Austria were held: how else could he expect to complete his vast design?

While the czar was thus preparing for a contest with Napoleon, the government of the North American states was proceeding toward the same issue with Great Britain. Our orders in council not having been repealed in February, Mr. Pinckney, the American envoy, was recalled, and had his audience of leave on the first of March; from which time the American ports were opened to the ships of France, and closed against those of England. An encounter, which soon afterwards took place between the *Little Belt*, a British sloop of war, and the *President*, an American frigate of the largest class, seemed calculated to bring on an immediate rupture: as great uncertainty however existed concerning the first shot fired, the governments of both nations felt disposed to pass over the affair. A British envoy extraordinary was sent to the United States on the other subjects of dispute; but he found it impossible to effect an adjustment, without exceeding his instructions, by holding forth an expectation that the orders in council would be revoked; and on the meeting of congress in November, the president recommended vigorous measures of preparation by sea and land, in consequence of the hostile inflexibility of the British cabinet.

For some time a fierce war had been going on between Russia and the Porte; but proposals were this year made by the grand vizir for an armistice; which, as Alexander had more serious negotiations now on his hands, was readily accepted. In Sweden, the crown prince, seeing that the measures which he had been obliged to adopt against British commerce were displeasing to the people, relaxed in that point, and consequently incurred the violent resentment of Napoleon: this led to repeated demands and proposals, which were declined; and early next year Swedish Pomerania and Rugen were occupied by French troops. Bernadotte, however, very adroitly took advantage of this crisis, not only to emancipate Sweden from French dependence; but also, without engaging actively in the war, to obtain a prospect of Norway as a compensation for the

loss of Finland. Prussia at this time enjoyed repose; but it was the repose of degradation, while her king was reluctantly obliged to join the confederation of the Rhine. Austria was employed in recruiting her finances; the country being inundated with a paper currency, much depreciated. In Naples the French remained quiet, permitting the English quietly to maintain the most detestable of tyrannies in Sicily: it appeared however, that since the marriage of Buonaparte with a princess of Austria, the court of Palermo became less hostile to French interests: the profligate queen had lately employed a large portion of the subsidies sent by Great Britain for the defence of the island, in organising and supporting a strong party favorable to Napoleon, the enemy of her family, and the despoiler of her throne. Lord William Bentinck, our new ambassador, had scarcely landed, before he found the politics and plans of the court so inimical to this country, that he judged it necessary to return home, in order to obtain fresh instructions; when he found the government inclined towards a forcible occupation of the island, as the only method of defeating the queen's machinations.

The chief interest connected with European affairs still attached itself to the peninsula. On the second of January, Suchet made himself master of Tortosa, after a siege which did honor to its defenders; and about the same time Soult led his army into Estremadura, where every precaution given to the Spanish government and generals by lord Wellington had been totally neglected. Terror and confusion spread far and wide in the province: Badajos was ill-provisioned; Albuquerque in ruins; Olivenza nearly dismantled; and in the midst of this disorder, Ballasteros was drawn off toward the Condada de Neibla by the regency, who thus took from Estremadura half its defenders at the very moment of Soult's invasion: hence, when he came to invest Olivenza, Mendizabel was unable effectually to relieve it; and the place surrendered, with all its stores and ammunition, as well as 4000 effective troops, on the twenty-second of January: Ballasteros also was defeated, with a loss of 1000 men, at Castillejos; Copon's troops were recalled to Cadiz; and on the twenty-sixth, Soult marched against Badajos, having taken or dispersed in about twenty days all the forces which might have frustrated his designs. On the twenty-fourth died the marquis de la Romana, a man of patriotic spirit, although deficient in military talent: his death at this period was a great loss to his country, as he had begun at length to lay aside that obstinate pride which pro-

hibited success, and more willingly submitted to the dictates of the great captain who commanded the allies of Spain.

Mendizabel succeeded to his command in Estremadura, having previously received Romana's orders to adopt lord Wellington's plan: this was, to concentrate all the Spanish troops on the frontier; and, before the enemy appeared on the right bank of the Guadiana, to occupy a position of great natural strength near to Badajos, which might prevent Soult from investing that place, or even straitening its communications. 'With soldiers of any other nation,' said lord Wellington, 'success is certain: but no calculation can be made of any operation in which Spanish troops are engaged.'¹¹ The event proved the justness of his apprehension: when Soult drove in the outposts of Badajos on the twenty-sixth, Mendizabel shut himself up with 6000 men in that fortress; but although a siege had been expected for a year, the place was unprovionioned: still it was possible to execute the British general's plan; yet no Spaniard moved; and, on the twenty-seventh, Latour Maubourg, crossing the Guadiana at Merida, forded the Gebora, and cut off the communications of Campo Mayor and Elvas.

In the early part of the siege, the weather was so rigorous, and the scarcity in the French camp so pressing, that those communications were soon re-opened: accordingly, Mendizabel, in the night of February 5, repaired in person to Elvas; and, leaving the defence of Badajos to the governor Menacho, pitched his own camp round San Cristoval, a large fortress crowning a hill on the opposite bank of the Guadiana. In every point however he rejected the counsel of lord Wellington; and, having neglected all his defences, he was attacked by Soult, who, passing the Guadiana and Gebora rivers, fell on his army, and shamefully defeated it, strewing the field with 900 slain, and taking 8000 prisoners, with all the guns, ammunition, and baggage. In the evening after this action, the French marshal cast up intrenchments round the position which he had gained, and renewed the siege with redoubled vigor: but continual rains interrupted his convoys; many of his troops fell sick; and Badajos was still powerful, with a garrison of 9000 men, under a resolute and honorable commandant. No communication had yet been opened by Soult with Massena; and lord Wellington, in momentary expectation that his reinforcements would arrive, was anxious to bring

¹¹ Napier, vol. iii. p. 429.

on a crisis ; when occurrences took place in Andalusia, which seriously menaced the French power in that province.

General Graham, who commanded at Cadiz, being aware of Soult's departure, and knowing also that the fifth corps had quitted Seville, concerted a plan with the Spaniards to drive marshal Victor out of his lines : for this purpose, 10,000 infantry and 600 cavalry of the allies, being embarked at Cadiz, were landed, on the twenty-second of February, at Algesiras ; from which place next day they marched to Tarifa. General Zayas, who commanded the Spanish troops left in the Isla, was, in the mean time, directed to throw a bridge over the San Petri canal, near the sea shore ; Ballasteros, with the remnant of his army, was ordered to menace Seville ; several *partidas* were ready to act against Sebastiani ; and insurrections were meditated in various other quarters.

The troops at Tarifa, being joined by a considerable British, German, and Portuguese force, were assembled under general Graham, a man of undaunted courage and true military talent : their numbers amounted to somewhat more than 4000 ; but 7000 Spaniards arrived on the twenty-seventh, under La Peña, one of those generals who blighted the fairest hopes of their country, and to whom Graham, for the sake of unanimity, unfortunately ceded the chief command. Next day, these combined forces moved forward about twelve miles, in the direction of Medina Sidonia ; and being now within four leagues of the enemy's posts, they were re-organised ; the vanguard being given to general Lardizabal ; the centre to the prince of Anglona ; the reserve, composed of the British and two Spanish regiments, to Graham ; and the cavalry of both nations to colonel Whittingham, an English officer in the Spanish service.

The French covering division, consisting of three battalions and a regiment of horse, under general Cassagne, whose outposts were at Vejer de la Frontera and Casa Vieja, was stationed at Medina Sidonia ; which city had been taken by the Spaniards, but retaken by the French, and intrenched on the twenty-ninth. The signal of action being now given, the French generals, perceiving the people ready for insurrection, concentrated their forces at various points ; and Victor, having manned his lines before Cadiz with a mixed force, took post with 11,000 veteran troops near to Chiclana : there he waited till his antagonists should develop their designs. At first, La Peña's march pointed to Medina ; his vanguard stormed Casa Vieja on the second of March ; and he was

joined by troops from Algesiras, which brought his whole force up to 12,000 foot and 800 horse, with twenty-four guns. On the third, he resumed his march; but hearing that Medina was intrenched, he turned off toward the coast, and drove the French from Vejer: next evening, he advanced in the same direction; and on the morning of the fifth, arrived at the heights of Barosa, a low ridge overlooking a small plain, bounded on his left by the coast, on his right by the forest of Chiclana, and in front by a large pine wood; beyond which, rose the narrow height of Bermeja, extending from the Almanza creek to the sea.

The marches to this position had been very long and fatiguing to the troops, contrary to a promise made to Graham by La Peña; and before all came up, the Spanish commander, as if in contempt of his colleague, without disclosing to him any part of his plans, sent Lardizabal with the vanguard, reinforced by a squadron of horse and three guns, directly against the mouth of the San Petri; from the bridge of which Zayas had been driven back by the French into the Isla: it was a dangerous movement; but Lardizabal, after a sharp action, in which he lost 300 men, forced the enemy's posts, and effected a junction with Zayas. The British general was very desirous of holding the heights of Barosa, as a key both to offensive and defensive operations; but Lascy, chief of the Spanish staff, having opposed this plan, La Peña most uncourteously ordered Graham to move on, through the wood in front, to Bermeja: this command was instantly obeyed; the flank companies of the ninth and eighty-second regiments being left under major Brown, to guard the baggage: but it was obeyed, under the full persuasion that La Peña would remain, with Anglona's division and the cavalry, at Barosa; especially as a Spanish detachment was still on the side of Medina: scarcely however had the British entered the wood, when this dastardly wretch carried off all the troops toward the San Petri, directing the cavalry to follow by the coast road, and leaving the baggage on the Barosa heights guarded only by five battalions and four guns. These movements were keenly watched by Victor in the forest of Chiclana, who felt so secure of victory, that he despatched his cavalry from Medina and Arcos toward Vejer and other places, for the purpose of intercepting the fugitives in their anticipated defeat: he had with him 9000 excellent troops, of the divisions of Laval, Ruffin, and Villatte: from these he drew three grenadier battalions, for reserves; of which he attached two, and

three squadrons of cavalry, to Ruffin's division, that formed his left wing; and the remaining one to Laval's, which formed his centre: Villatte's force, of about 2500 men, was kept near a bridge on the Almanza creek, to cover the camp, and to watch the Spaniards at the San Petri and Bermeja.

As soon as Victor saw that Graham had entered the wood, he put his troops into rapid motion, directing Laval against the English; while he himself, with Ruffin's division, ascending the reverse side of Barosa, cut off the Spanish detachment that was on the road to Medina, and utterly dispersed the rear-guard left with the baggage on the heights. Major Brown, unable to stem the torrent, sent quickly to Graham for orders; when that energetic officer, as if inspired by the genius of military command, answered, 'that he was to fight;' and himself, instantly facing about, regained the plain, expecting to find La Peña, with the main body of the army and the cavalry, on the heights: but La Peña was no where to be seen; the rear-guard and baggage were flying in confusion toward the coast; while the heights were covered with Ruffin's division, and the French cavalry; and Laval was close on his own left flank. In this hazardous situation, a general who had hesitated would inevitably have been lost: not so with Graham; who resolved instantly to attack his opponents, though the key of the field of battle was in their possession.

Ten guns, under major Duncan, opened a terrific fire on Laval's column; while colonel A. Barnard, with the riflemen and Portuguese companies, running out to the left, commenced the engagement: the remainder of the British troops, without any attention to regiments or brigades, were formed into two masses; one of which, under general Dilke, marched hastily against Ruffin; and the other, under colonel Wheatley, moved toward Laval. While Duncan's guns thinned the French ranks, Laval's artillery replied vigorously; and Ruffin's batteries took Wheatley's column in flank, as the troops on each side passed onwards amid showers of musket balls: but when they came to close quarters, a rapid charge by the British overthrew the first French line, and drove it in confusion on the second, which was instantaneously broken in the same manner, and driven from the field.

Meanwhile, major Brown, on receiving his orders, had marched headlong against Ruffin, whose first fire brought down half his detachment: yet he bravely maintained the fight, till Dilke's column, crossing a deep hollow, and not stopping even to re-form his broken lines, joined him, and the whole

rushed forward simultaneously toward the summit of the ridge: their gallant opponents met them at its edge, when a fierce, and for some time doubtful conflict ensued; but the French generals, Ruffin and Rousseau, both fell, mortally wounded; and the troops, giving way under the incessant fire and pressing advance of the British, at length left the hill, with three guns and several hundreds of prisoners in possession of their antagonists.

The routed French divisions, meeting in their retreat, spiritedly attempted to re-form, and to renew the action; but the design was frustrated by the rapid and murderous play of Duncan's artillery. Victor then carried off his discomfited army from troops who were exhausted with fatigue and hunger, having been under arms twenty-four hours without food; and this he did in the face of a large train of Spanish artillery and a superb regiment of cavalry, 800 strong, by whom not a sabre was drawn that day, either in defence of their allies, or in pursuit of the flying enemy.

In this sanguinary conflict, which lasted only one hour and a half, fifty officers, sixty serjeants, and above 1100 British soldiers were killed or wounded; while their opponents lost 2000, together with six guns, an eagle, two generals, and 400 prisoners. After the action, Graham remained some hours on the heights, to see whether the flame of patriotism or courage could be kindled in the bosom of La Peña, who had been joined by 4000 troops and a powerful artillery from the Isla: but, alas! if there had been a spark existing there, it would have been extinguished by that unconquerable spirit of mean jealousy, which animated the Spanish generals against their brave allies. La Peña refused to put 12,000 untouched troops in motion against the foes of his country, even in their flight. On the fifth, Victor, with great judgment and spirit, proposed to renew the attack; but was overruled by his council of war. Next day, the British troops filed over Zayas's bridge into the Isla; when admiral Keats, landing his seamen and marines, dismantled all the enemy's forts from Rota to Santa Maria, with the exception of Catalina. Great confusion prevailed in the French camp; and if La Peña, even then, would have pushed on toward Chiclana, the British admiral and general would have undertaken to demolish all the works of the Trocadero; but he still refused to serve his country, if he must thereby add glory to the British arms: so, breaking down the bridge over the San Petri, he retired to Alegesiras; and, in an address to the Cortes, claimed all the merit of victory for himself! To

such a pitch of audacity did his minions, Lascy and Cruz-Murgeon, proceed, that they published inaccurate accounts of the action, and had deceptive plans engraved to deceive the public.¹² 'Graham,' as the peninsular historian observes, 'stung by these unworthy transactions, exposed the conduct of La Peña, in a letter to the British envoy; and when Lascy let fall some expressions personally offensive, he enforced an apology with his sword:' he then deputed his command to general Cooke, and carried his well-earned laurels to the great commander.

While discord prevailed in Cadiz, Badajos held out under its admirable governor, Rafael Menacho, who had communicated a portion of his own courage and activity to the garrison: this brave man however having been slain, in a sally on the second of March, the command fell to Imas, one of the worst officers of La Peña's school: under him the spirit of the garrison died away; and a breach being made in the ramparts, the place was peremptorily summoned on the tenth: at this time, the great crisis of the campaign had passed, and a strong body of British and Portuguese were ready to raise the siege: in three different ways, by telegraph, by letter, and by a confidential messenger, Imas was informed that Massena was in full retreat, and the relieving army on its march: the breach was still impracticable, the garrison above 8000 strong, and the French army reduced by sickness and the operations of war to 14,000. The sequel must be given in the words of the military historian:—'Imas read the letter, and instantly surrendered; handing over to the enemy at the same moment the intelligence thus obtained; but he also demanded that his grenadiers should march out of the breach: it was granted; and he was obliged to enlarge the opening himself ere they could do so! Yet this man, so covered with opprobrium, and who had secured his own liberty while consigning his fellow soldiers to a prison, and his character to infamy, was never punished by the Spanish rulers! Lord Wellington's indignant remonstrances forced them, indeed, to bring him to trial; but they made the process last the whole war.'

When Badajos fell, some other slight advantages were gained; but the victory of Barosa, and the success of lord Wellington's grand combinations, forced Soult to return into Andalusia. During the siege, no alteration took place in the main positions of the French and British at Santarem, while

¹² Napier, vol. iii. p. 449.

lord Wellington's able project of relieving Badajos was frustrated by two untoward circumstances ; the fatal action, under Mendizabel, at the Gebora ; and the neglect of admiral Sir Joseph Yorke, who, not taking advantage of a fair wind, when reinforcements were put on board his fleet, prolonged a voyage of ten days to one of six weeks. Every fault and failure however of others served only to display the fine qualities of lord Wellington's mind, whose plans and combinations were too grand and comprehensive in their nature to be affected by petty accidents : on the retina of that mind lay the whole process of the war, as it were, in perspective ; and it is said by those who knew the man, that few events of great importance occurred, which were not foreseen by his almost miraculous powers of anticipation.

Massena's situation had now become so perilous, by the total interruption of his communications with the duke of Dalmatia, by the sickness which wasted his troops, the variance existing between many of his generals, and the commencing disorganisation of his army, that he determined to retreat, when the occupation of his position ten more days would have enabled Soult to join him. Of the several lines open to his march, he chose that which led to the Mondego ; determining either to pass that river, or to proceed along its left bank toward Guarda and Almeida ; but he previously sent off all his sick men and stores, by a flank movement, executed with great ability. At first, he made an indication of despatching Ney, with the sixth corps and the cavalry, against Torres Vedras ; and thus kept his antagonist in suspense : but after great destruction of his munitions of war, the army, by rapid concentric movements, and a gain of four days' time, took a position in front of Pom-bal, and secured its line of retreat ; for lord Wellington, though well aware that such a retreat was intended, could take no decisive step, lest he should open his lines to the enemy : he had however ordered marshal Beresford to close up to his right on the fifth ; and on the sixth, discovering the camp at Santarem to be empty, he put his own army in motion, one part in the direction of Thomar, the other in that of Leiria : but though Massena had commenced his march on the fourth, it was the eleventh before sufficient forces could be assembled to engage him : during this interval, he had ably executed one of the most difficult movements in war, and had fully organised his retreat, unencumbered with any heavy artillery, but protected by a strong rear-guard, under Ney, which took advantage of every defensible post in the line of march.

A slight skirmish occurred at Pombal, where the French were driven from their position with such precipitation by the ninety-fifth regiment, and the third Caçadores of the light division, that they had not time to blow up the bridge, although it was undermined. Montbrun was here detached, for the purpose of seizing Coimbra, which it was lord Wellington's immediate object to save, as well as to drive Massena out of Portugal, by skilful rather than daring operations: he was unwilling to run the hazard of weakening his force by a direct attack; content, if he could harass and disorganise the enemy, while he kept his own army intire for future operations in Spain: the country also was full of strong positions, and the weather favorable to a retreating enemy; while 'Ney,' as colonel Napier observes, 'with a happy mixture of courage, readiness, and skill, illustrated every league of ground by some signal combination of war.'¹³ The combat of Redinha, on the twelfth, particularly displayed this marshal's military talents, where an ingenious arrangement of his troops deceived lord Wellington as to their numbers; and when the whole British army was rapidly advancing on his position, he drew off his troops with inconceivable rapidity and small loss. On the thirteenth, the allies renewed the pursuit, and soon discovered the whole French army, with the exception of the second corps, which was at Espinhal, in order of battle. The crisis of Massena's retreat, as colonel Napier observes, had now arrived: the defiles of Condeixa, leading on Coimbra, were behind him; those of Miranda de Corvo, leading to the Puente de Murcella, were on his left; and in the fork of these two roads, Ney was fixed, on a strong range of heights, covered by a marsh and various artificial obstructions, by which Massena expected to stop the British pursuit, while Montbrun occupied Coimbra: for he designed to pass the Mondego, and either capture Oporto, or maintain a position between that river and the Douro, till the arrival of Soult or Bessières should enable him to resume active operations.¹⁴ Coimbra however was saved principally by the skilful and daring measures of colonel Trant, assisted by Sir Robert Wilson, and other independent corps: the French commander therefore directed his march on the

¹³ Sir Thomas Picton also, whose division was principally engaged with the rear-guard of the French army, declared, that 'his movements afforded a perfect lesson in this kind of warfare.'—Life of Picton, vol. i. p. 385.

¹⁴ Napier, vol. iii. p. 464.

Puente de Murcella; and though lord Wellington now assumed a more decided superiority over his antagonist, yet the retreat was still conducted with infinite skill, and extraordinary success. 'On the fourteenth,' says general Picton, 'the light division was engaged with the enemy's rear-guard as early as half-past five o'clock in the morning; and there was a continual skirmish, without any intermission, till near four o'clock in the afternoon.'¹⁵ On the fifteenth, according to the same authority, another vehement attack was made by several British divisions; but the ground was particularly favorable to the retreating forces, consisting of abrupt woody heights, connected by narrow gorges, strongly occupied by infantry and artillery: they made therefore an obstinate resistance; but in the end were successively driven from all their positions, till night covered their movements. The sixteenth was employed by the British army in reconnoitring the enemy, whose whole force was concentrated on a strong woody ridge, covered by a rapid and unfordable river: early the following night, however, he decamped, and by a forced march reached the Alva, which he passed at different fords, on the seventeenth, and the morning of the eighteenth. The British army was now obliged to relax in the vigor of its pursuit, on account of a deficiency of provisions; the commissariat not being able to keep pace with such rapid movements, and the enemy having consumed every thing in the country with fire and sword: here he also destroyed large quantities of baggage and ammunition; even abandoning his more distant foraging parties, which were intercepted and taken, to the number of 800 men, as they returned to the Alva.

While provisions were sent up the Mondego to the British army, its light division, with the cavalry, continued to pursue Massena, who reached Celerico, on the twenty-first, with two corps, and all his cavalry; when he immediately opened a communication with Almeida, while Regnier occupied Guarda with the second corps. Having thus gained the original base of his operations, and feeling anxious not to re-enter Spain as a conquered general, he formed a design of throwing all his sick men and other encumbrances into Almeida; and then, passing the Estrella at Guarda, to advance through Sabagul and Peña Macor to the Elga: there he would have established communications across the Tagus with Soult, and along the valley of that river with the king: a close and concentric

¹⁵ Life of Picton, vol. i. p. 382.

direction would have been given to the armies of the south, of the centre, and of Portugal; which, by making a demonstration against Lisbon, would have drawn lord Wellington back to the Tagus, while the army of the north menaced the frontier. This plan however was strongly opposed by Ney; who, wishing to shorten the retreat, urged the necessity of falling back on Almeida; absolutely refusing to concur in Massena's project, and even moving his troops in a contrary direction: the latter then deprived that marshal of his command; and each sent a confidential officer to Paris to justify his conduct to Napoleon. From both those officers, colonel Napier professes to have derived information; judging from which, as well as from other circumstances, he thinks that 'Massena's general views were as superior to those of Ney, as the latter's readiness and genius in the handling of troops in action were superior to the prince's.'

Though Ney's insubordination had frustrated Massena's plan of marching on the Elga, the latter still hoped to maintain a position at Guarda, by aid of the army of the south; and to hold open the communications with Soult and the king: but lord Wellington's bold operations now disarranged his calculations.

The troops had come up on the twenty-eighth; and with them reinforcements, which were formed into a seventh division: on the twenty-ninth, by a skilful combination of movements, in which the third division, under Picton, bore a distinguished part, lord Wellington dislodged the enemy from the heights and city of Guarda, where he was posted in great strength: the gallant third succeeded in turning Massena's left and taking a strong position in his rear, within a quarter of a mile of head-quarters: this so alarmed him, and the absence of Ney also was so strongly felt, that he quickly withdrew the corps opposed to the other divisions, and commenced his retreat with marks of great precipitation. Still unwilling to quit Portugal, Massena lost no opportunity of arresting the progress of the allies; and on the third of April he endeavored to make another stand on the Coa, which brought on the sharp action of Sabagul. Lord Wellington's dispositions, on this occasion, were made with distinguished ability; but one of those accidents, which so often disarrange military operations, marred his well-concerted schemes, and saved the French army: this arose from his instructions not being promptly and properly obeyed; so that colonel Beckwith's brigade of the light division, and four companies of the ninety-fifth, with two squadrons of cavalry, and three compa-

nies of Caçadores, supported by the forty-third regiment, for a long time bore the brunt of the fight, against the main body of the enemy: these gallant troops, attacked on all sides, and occasionally compelled to give way before the overwhelming pressure of the opposing column, still recovered their ground by successive charges: thrice did the forty-third thus beat back the solid masses of the French, and repel the attacks of their cavalry, with a resolution and courage that could not be resisted: but all would have been vain; the whole of the enemy's force had been called up, and was about to close on this heroic little band, when firing was suddenly heard on their left: this was from Colville's brigade of the third division, led by Picton himself; and as they advanced up a hill to the point of attack, with stern front and steady step, the general ordered them not to fire a shot before he gave the word of command; and not a shot was fired, till they came within a few yards of the enemy's right: then a volley was poured in close and true; a loud cheer was caught up by Beckwith's almost exhausted troops, and the attack renewed with fresh energy. The head of general Dunlop's column was now also seen crossing the bridge of the Coa, against the French right; while the British cavalry appeared on the rear of their left: the columns under Regnier, which were advancing to apparent victory, then slowly withdrew from 'one of the most glorious contests to British troops,' according to lord Wellington's own words, 'in which they ever were engaged.' The retreat was now continued; and on the fifth, Massena crossed the frontier of Portugal, as a beaten general, for the purpose of taking refuge in Ciudad Rodrigo: but he acquired in this campaign a character for violence, cruelty, and devastation, unparalleled in the whole course of the war; and left his name to be execrated by the Portuguese, as long as any memorial of his acts shall exist. He had entered the country with 65,000 men; he had been reinforced with 10,000; and he repassed the frontier with 45,000, losing about 6000 in his retreat from Santarem.

From Ciudad Rodrigo, where supplies were obtained, and detachments joined his broken army, Massena fell back to Salamanca, while lord Wellington invested Almeida; sending the militia to their homes, and disposing his army between the Coa and the Agueda: beyond that river he could not take a position; for the Portuguese regulars were in a sad state, and daily decreasing in numbers; while the misconduct of the regency still continued, and little or no money could be procured.

Entertaining however grand projects for the future, he demanded reinforcements from England, and leave to carry his designs into execution, if proper opportunities should occur: 'yet,' says colonel Napier, 'he checked his secret aspirations, reflecting on the national pride and perverseness of the Spaniards, their uncertain proceedings, and the great difficulty, if not impossibility, of ensuring any reasonable concert and assistance. When to this he added the bad disposition of the Portuguese regency, and the timid temper of the English ministers, so many jarring elements presented themselves, that he could make no fixed combinations: nevertheless, maturing the leading points of action in his own mind, he resolved to keep them in view, adapting his proceedings to circumstances as they should arise.'¹⁶ 'So deeply, however,' says the same writer, 'had he probed the nature of the contest, that we shall find his future operations strictly conformable to his first conceptions, and always successful.'

As the capture of Badajos bore strongly on all his plans, he left the investment of Almeida to general Spencer, and departed for the Alemtejo, there to confer with marshal Beresford, who had the conduct of operations in that quarter. After the fall of Badajos, Soult had returned to Andalusia, leaving the conduct of the siege of Campo Mayor to Mortier; who, having effected this achievement, returned to the Guadiana, leaving Latour Maubourg to dismantle the place, and remove the guns and stores to Badajos. Such was the state of affairs, when Beresford, who had been detached from the northern army during its pursuit of the French, arrived at Portalegre with 20,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, and eighteen pieces of artillery. So secretly had this force been prepared, and so expeditiously sent by lord Wellington, that Campo Mayor was recovered before the enemy had time to remove all the stores: they also evacuated Albuquerque and Valencia d'Alcantara; but marshal Beresford, though a very gallant soldier, does not seem to have possessed those strategic talents, which would have enabled him to keep pace with the designs of the great captain. It is stated, on high military authority, that if, profiting by the consternation which the appearance of his vast force caused, and by the weakness of Mortier's corps, from which Soult had abstracted large detachments, he had marched on Merida, driven back the fifth corps, and opened a fresh communication with Elvas by Jerumenha, Badajos must have fallen; for its breach was

¹⁶ Napier, vol. iii. p. 492.

not closed, nor its magazines replenished.¹⁷ The fatigues however and wants of his soldiers induced the marshal to put them into quarters around Elvas, where the Portuguese government had promised to provide them with sustenance, in order that they might undertake the siege of Olivenza and Badajos: he found however that the Portuguese regency made promises, only to betray its allies; for no provisions were collected in the country, nor any means of transport for the troops to cross the river: the marshal therefore halted till he could procure means of passing it at Jerumenha; 'an error,' says colonel Napier, 'which may be considered as the first and principal cause of those long and bloody operations, which afterwards detained lord Wellington nearly two years on the frontiers of Portugal;'¹⁸ for during this delay, Badajos was fortified by Philipon, and its magazines stored by the foraging parties of Latour Maubourg. On the fifth and sixth of April, the army, after great difficulties, crossed the Guadiana; and on the seventh, the French general came up, with a strong corps, to oppose a passage that had been already effected: he however surprised an advanced squadron of cavalry, and then came so close to the British position as to exchange shots; but was suffered to retire unmolested. During these proceedings, the Spanish armies, under Blake and Castaños, took the field, both jealous of each other, and also of Beresford; but the latter, being joined by Madden's cavalry, marched against Latour Maubourg, who retired on Llerena; when the marshal, leaving a considerable force under general Cole to besiege Olivenza, took post himself at Albuera, communicating by his left with Almendralejo, and spreading his cavalry in front so as to cut off all communication with Badajos. On the fifteenth, Olivenza surrendered; and after some movements, intended to drive Latour Maubourg over the Morena, and to cut off general Maransin, who was in pursuit of Ballasteros, whom he had defeated at Tregenal, the whole army was concentrated on the sixteenth about Zafra: Latour Maubourg retired to Guadalcanal; and Llerena was occupied by the Spanish cavalry. On the twenty-first, lord Wellington arrived at the Guadiana; and next day, having forded it with Madden's cavalry, and a brigade of German light infantry under general Charles Alten, he pushed up close to Badajos, and endeavored, but without success, to cut off a convoy then about to enter the town. His lordship, knowing well that Soult would endeavor to interrupt

¹⁷ Napier, vol. iii. p. 497.¹⁸ Ibid. p. 499.

the siege, refused to invest the place, until he had received the promise of the Spanish generals, Blake, Ballasteros, and Castaños, to take up prominent positions, which he marked out; Albuera being the point of concentration for the allied forces, in the event of a battle. Political differences however, added to the natural slowness and arrogance of those officers, obliged lord Wellington to delay operations: in the mean time, intelligence reached him, that Massena, reinforced by the army of the north and the ninth corps, had reappeared on the Agueda: directing Beresford therefore to postpone the siege until unanimity should prevail, or the fall of Almeida should permit him to send reinforcements, he returned with speed to his army: having joined it on the twenty-eighth, he immediately concentrated its main force behind the Dos Casas river; being resolved neither to seek a battle, nor to decline one.

On the second of May, Massena, quitting Ciudad Rodrigo, and pushing his whole army across the Agueda, attempted to force a passage to Almeida. The allies occupied a fine tableland, lying between the rivers Turones and Dos Casas; their left resting on Fort Conception, their centre being opposite to the village of Alameda, and their right near Fuentes Onoro: the front of this extensive line was protected by the Dos Casas, flowing in a deep ravine. A good deal of skirmishing took place on the evening of the third of May at Fuentes Onoro, which was occupied by five chosen battalions of the first and third divisions. General Loison, without waiting for Massena's orders, attacked these troops with a superior force; but was bravely met and kept in check, until their commander, colonel Williams, of the sixtieth, fell severely wounded: the enemy's efforts were nearly crowned with success, when the twenty-fourth, the seventy-first, and the seventy-ninth regiments, coming down from the main position, made a spirited charge, and drove them from the village for the night.

Massena arrived on the fourth; which day he passed in reconnoitring, and making dispositions for a more general engagement: being now joined by Bessières with 1200 cavalry and a battery of the imperial guard, he had under arms 40,000 infantry and 5000 horse, with thirty pieces of artillery. On the morning of the fifth, a furious attack was made on the British right by the French cavalry under Montbrun, which very severely handled the light division: but the chief share of the combat fell to the third under Picton, which, for its extreme bravery and gallant exertions on every occasion, had

acquired in the army the appellation of 'the fighting division.' The village of Fuentes Onoro was again the main object of contention; Drouet being ordered to carry it at the moment when Montbrun's cavalry should turn the British right wing: a delay however of two hours occurred, and the place was defended in the most determined manner by the same gallant regiments which sustained the unequal combat of yesterday; and that, against repeated assaults supported by a tremendous cannonade. About two o'clock however, these troops began to give way and to fall back behind the village; when the eighty-eighth, under colonel Wallace, led on by major-general Mackinnon, moved up to support them, making so overwhelming a charge through the streets, that they drove the enemy out with immense loss; though he still kept up a heavy, but not very destructive cannonade, at a distance.

When the action ceased, both armies remained in observation: on the sixth, the French general sent his wounded men to the rear, without making any demonstration of attack; while lord Wellington completed some intrenchments to defend his position. As great insubordination existed among his principal officers, Massena recrossed the Agueda on the tenth, and soon afterwards returned to France, being superseded in his command by Marmont, who had been created duke of Ragusa.

Almeida was now left to its fate; but the skilful and daring conduct of its governor, general Brennier, allowed very little honor to be acquired by its captors: after blowing up the fortifications and destroying the guns in so ingenious a manner, as to elude the notice of the blockading regiments, he succeeded in breaking through them with his garrison; and, after a slight loss, effected a junction with the second corps under Regnier. Marmont then withdrew the greater part of his army to Salamanca; and lord Wellington set out for Badajos, leaving four divisions under general Spencer, and directing the third and seventh, with the second German hussars, to follow him. During his absence in the north, marshal Beresford, having obtained the acquiescence of the Spanish generals, had invested this important fortress; but to the great discredit of the British government, no army ever was so ill provided with the materials for a siege: the engineer officers were men of high talent and zeal; but, without proper tools and cannon of sufficient calibre, without a single corps of sappers and miners, or a private who knew how to carry on

approaches under fire, they were opposed to the most numerous, scientific, and warlike set of men that any age or nation ever produced. Omitting, however, the description of this unsuccessful operation, let us proceed to notice those movements on the side of Andalusia, which drew the allies from the walls of the besieged fortress. Soult, having had time to reorganise the province after the disasters attendant on the battle of Barosa, and to collect a powerful reinforcement, suddenly advanced ; and, being joined on his march by general Maransin and Latour Maubourg, arrived on the fifteenth of May at Santa Marta, about twenty-four miles distant from Badajos. Beresford remained till the night of the twelfth, in a state of much uncertainty ; and then, contrary to the advice of his engineer officers, who promised to put him into possession of the place in three days, he determined to raise the siege : for this determination, he has received great and deserved praise from colonel Napier, who observes, that the promise was ill-founded ; and if it had been otherwise, Soult would have surprised him in the trenches :¹⁹ his firmness, therefore, in this instance, saved the army ; and having skilfully removed his battering train to the right bank of the Guadiana, he held a conference with the Spanish generals, on the thirteenth, at Valverde, where it was resolved to meet the foe at Albuera : this determination, however, has not been thought intitled to the same applause ; for he had only 7000 British troops to act against a superb army of French veterans ; his main object could have been attained without a battle, while a defeat would have drawn lord Wellington again within the lines of Torres Vedras, and let a tremendous army into Portugal, to the probable ruin of the peninsula. The corps under Ballasteros and Blake, having united at Baracotta, were now falling back on Almendral ; and Blake engaged to bring them into line before noon on the fifteenth : but, alas ! the arrogance, inactivity, and incapacity of this man occasioned torrents of the best British blood to flow. On the morning of the fifteenth, a position was taken on a ridge about four miles long, sloping down towards the river of Albuera in front ; and at three o'clock in the afternoon, the whole of the allied cavalry were driven in, passing the stream, and abandoning a woody height on the other side ; which, being unoccupied, enabled Soult to mask his principal dispositions for battle. At this time, the fourth division had not

¹⁹ Napier, vol. iii. p. 529.

come up from Badajos, where it appears to have been imprudently left; and Blake's movements were so slow, that he did not reach the ground assigned to him, on the right of the line, before eleven at night; nor was his rear in position before three next morning: orders were sent to hasten Cole and Madden, the former of whom brought up two brigades of the fourth division, with the infantry of the fifth Spanish army, and two squadrons of Portuguese cavalry; which latter were sent to reinforce our countrymen, under colonel Otway, on the left of the line; while the Spaniards joined Blake on the right. Soult having, on the evening of the fifteenth, examined and detected all the weak points in his adversary's line, placed a very strong force behind the wooded height above-mentioned, for the purpose of turning the right wing of the allies, and driving it back on their centre. The battle commenced at an early hour on the sixteenth, by an attempt of the French division under Godinot, to cross the bridge before Albuera, where they suffered much from the well-directed fire of the British artillery: but Beresford soon discovered that the main attack was to be directed against his right wing, and therefore he sent Blake directions to make a change in his front, for the purpose of meeting it: this order the arrogant Spaniard refused to obey, telling colonel Hardinge that the real attack was at the bridge: the marshal, therefore, after sending another message as vainly as the former, was obliged himself to gallop to Blake's post, where nothing had been done: the enemy's dense columns, however, had already emerged from the wood; and before Beresford could make the necessary evolutions, were close on the right wing: their artillery then opened; their infantry poured in a destructive fire; and their cavalry, outflanking the front, put the Spaniards into the utmost disorder. Soult, thinking that the whole allied army was yielding, pushed forward his columns, while his reserves mounted the hill, and his batteries were placed in position: but at this crisis, general William Stewart arrived with colonel Colborne's brigade, from the second division: the colonel, who was not surpassed by Ney himself in the management of troops in action, desired to form in order of battle before they ascended the hill; but the general, whose impetuous courage, at this moment, blinded his judgment, led up in column, and endeavored to deploy into line as the battalions arrived at the summit: a fatal error! for the heavy rain, now falling, enabled four regiments of hussars and lancers to pass the right flank without observation: these came rushing

on the rear of the line, at the very instant of its development; and one battalion only, which had not deployed, remained unbroken. Dreadful was the slaughter that ensued, while French and Polish horsemen rode violently over the field, putting to death all stragglers, and piercing the wounded who had fallen with their long spears: in this tumult, the British commander in chief was himself encountered by a lancer; but being endowed with great personal strength and courage, he parried the thrust, and unhorsed his assailant: he would have spared the man, but his life was instantly taken by a soldier. During this time, the Spanish line continued to fire, though the British were before them; yet no exhortations of Beresford could induce them to advance, though he seized an ensign, and carried him with his colors by main force toward the enemy: Soult, however, being prevented by the weather from seeing accurately the state of things, kept his heavy columns together; while his cavalry was checked in its attempt to hem in that of the allies, by general Lumley, with the able assistance of the horse artillery: Colborne also still maintained the heights with the thirty-first regiment; Stewart, who had escaped the spears of the lancers, was leading general Houghton's brigade up the hill, in a better order of battle; and Soult found, to his cost, that the day was still to be won.

As soon as Houghton's regiments arrived on the summit, major Dickson placed the artillery in line; the surviving brigade of the second division came up on the left; and two Spanish corps being at last persuaded to move, the fight was vigorously renewed: general Stewart was twice wounded, but refused to quit the field; colonel Duckworth, of the forty-eighth, was slain; and the gallant Houghton fell in the very act of cheering his men: such, however, was the slaughter in the British ranks, that scarcely one third in each regiment, that had mounted the hill, remained unhurt: the enemy was for a time indeed checked by Dickson's artillery; but the Polish lancers again charged, and captured six of his guns. At this dreadful crisis, it is said that marshal Beresford, having exhausted all his personal resources, meditated a retreat; but before the fatal order was given, some of his staff urged the possibility of recovering the day with general Cole's two brigades of the fourth division; one consisting of Portuguese, under general Harvey; the other of British fusileers, under Sir William Myers. While the commander hesitated, colonel Hardinge boldly undertook to order Cole's advance; and then, riding up to colonel

Abercrombie, who commanded the remnant of the second division, directed him to continue the contest: the die was thus cast, and Beresford acquiesced.²⁰

At this time, when six of the British guns were in possession of the enemy, whose reserves were coming fast up, and all the field was in confusion, Cole's fusileers, flanked by a battalion of the Lusitanian legion, ascended the hill, dispersed the lancers, recaptured the guns, and appeared on the right of Houghton's brigade, as Abercrombie passed it on the left: the contest that ensued is described by the peninsular historian in language that demands insertion, while it defies emulation:—'Such a gallant line,' he says, 'issuing from the midst of the smoke, and rapidly separating itself from the confused and broken multitude, startled the enemy's heavy masses, which were in creasing and pressing onwards, as to an assured victory: they wavered, hesitated; and then, vomiting forth a storm of fire, hastily endeavored to enlarge their front, while a fearful discharge of grape from all their artillery whistled through the British ranks. Myers was killed; Cole, and the three colonels, Ellis, Blakeney, and Hawkshawe, fell wounded; and the fusileer battalions, struck by the iron tempest, reeled and staggered like sinking ships: suddenly and sternly recovering, they closed on their terrible enemies; and then was seen with what strength and majesty a British soldier fights. In vain did Soult, by voice and gesture, animate his Frenchmen; in vain did the hardiest veterans, extricating themselves from the crowded columns, sacrifice their lives to gain time for the mass to open out on such a fair field; in vain did the mass itself bear up, and, fiercely striving, fire indiscriminately on friends and foes; while the horsemen, hovering on the flank, threatened to charge the advancing line. Nothing could stop that astonishing infantry: no sudden burst of undisciplined valor, no nervous enthusiasm, weakened the stability of their order: their flashing eyes were bent on the dark columns in front; their measured tread shook the ground; their dreadful volleys swept away the head of every formation; their deafening shouts overpowered the dissonant cries that broke from all parts of the tumultuous crowd, as foot by foot, and with a horrid carnage, it was driven by the incessant vigor of the attack to the farthest edge of the hill. In vain did the French reserves, joining with the struggling multitude, endeavor to sustain the fight: their efforts only increased the irremediable confusion; and the mighty

²⁰ Napier, vol. iii. p. 539.

mass, giving way like a loosened cliff, went headlong down the ascent: the rain flowed after in streams, discolored with blood; and 1500 unwounded men, the remnant of 6000 unconquerable British soldiers, stood triumphant on the fatal hill.

Colonel Hardinge's decision having brought on a crisis, Beresford exerted himself to improve it; and Blake's first line, which had not yet been engaged, was ordered on the village: this movement permitted Alten's Germans and other troops to come up to the right; but so rapid was the execution of the fusileers, that the enemy's infantry were never touched by these reinforcements, which nevertheless suffered severely from the French artillery under general Ruty: meanwhile, the contest was still obstinately continued at the village; but after the complete defeat of his grand attack, Soult withdrew Godinot's division from that quarter also. In this short, but sanguinary battle, five French generals, with 8000 other officers and men, were either killed or wounded: on the other side, 2000 Spaniards, with 600 Germans and Portuguese, were put *hors de combat*; but of pure British troops only 1500 were left standing out of 6000! the rest were found lying, as they had fought, in their ranks; more slain than all that fell in lord Wellington's campaign against Massena. The whole night long a deluge of rain came down, while the ravines and wooded hills, on each side of the river, resounded with shrieks and groans from dying men. Beresford had not a sufficient number of British unhurt to attend his wounded soldiers: in these distressing circumstances, he sent to Blake to ask assistance; but the monster refused it, saying, 'it was customary with allied armies for each to take care of its own men.'¹ Next day, both generals maintained their respective stations: the French, whose loss was far less serious than that of their opponents, were still menacing; and Beresford in great agitation expected another attack: with consummate judgment, however, he kept his position, and was joined on the seventeenth by the third brigade of the fourth division: on the eighteenth, to his infinite joy, Soult took the unwise step of retreating towards Llerena; and the same day lord Wellington arrived, inspected the state of affairs, and, returning to Elvas, directed the third and seventh divisions, which had arrived at Campo Mayor, to complete the investment of Badajos: so inadequate, however, were his means, that it became a jest in the army to say, that he was

¹ Napier, vol. iii. p. 544.

suing Badajos *in forma pauperis*. Under the able direction, however, of that excellent officer, major Dickson, a battering train was got together; general Hill took the command of the covering army; the cavalry was pushed forward to observe Soult; and, on the twenty-ninth, ground was broken before this important place: on the sixth of June, a breach in Fort Cristoval was reported practicable, and an assault was ordered at midnight: it was both given and repelled with intrepidity, three fruitless attempts being made to scale the wall: time now pressed; the French armies were moving into position, and another assault was determined on: the breach having been again battered, a larger storming party, better provided than the former, boldly attempted it; but this was also driven back with still greater loss: on the tenth, therefore, lord Wellington removed his stores, and turned the siege into a blockade; for he discovered by an intercepted letter that the provisions of the garrison were nearly exhausted, and he determined to try the chances of war. In the mean time, Marmont, having provided for the defence of Ciudad Rodrigo, was advancing, in pursuance of the emperor's instructions, to support Soult on the Guadiana; and the latter marshal, being reinforced by Drouet, prepared once more to relieve Badajos. On the fourteenth, it was known that Marmont was at Truxillo, and could reach Soult in four days: the blockade therefore was raised; but Wellington, hoping to engage Soult separately, still lingered at Albuera, where he intrenched his camp, and took care to occupy the hill on the right, of which his antagonist had once taken so great an advantage: the duke of Dalmatia's caution, however, frustrated this design: on the seventeenth the allies recrossed the river, and two days afterwards Badajos was relieved.

Lord Wellington now placed his army in a very advantageous position between the rivers Caya and Gebora; while his opponents were quartered along the Guadiana, above and below Badajos: a great crisis seemed to be at hand: the French armies were far superior to the British, especially in cavalry; while the Portuguese regency had reduced their contingents to the lowest degree of misery by starvation, and had utterly neglected all the fortresses of the country. The enemy had nearly deserted Andalusia, Castile, and the Asturias, to collect together their present overwhelming force; their generals were men of first-rate talent; and a victory at this time would have sent lord Wellington to Lisbon, if not out of the peninsula: but they felt the weight of moral over physical force; their defeats were still recent; they knew the constitution of

British troops ; and they were well aware that a general now commanded them, who would give his opponents no advantage in military manœuvres : when lord Wellington, therefore, who neither urged nor declined a combat, had waited long enough to give the Spaniards an opportunity of rising against their oppressors in the evacuated provinces, he despatched Blake against Seville ; but that wretched commander, instead of occupying, as he might, the capital of Andalusia, wasted his time against the fortress of Niebla, which he could not take through want of artillery : yet Soult, fearing for the province, withdrew his army to the banks of the Guadalquivir. Marmont then, retiring gradually from before Badajos, quartered his troops in the valley of the Tagus, with the exception of one division left at Truxillo : at the same time, the fifth corps retired on Zafra, and lord Wellington found himself relieved from the presence of his antagonists, when he had most reason to fear their exertions : his troops, however, were now suffering so much from the terrible fever of the Guadiana, that this alone would have prevented him from resuming the siege of Badajos at present, if other reasons had not induced him to adopt a new system of operations.

In Catalonia, Suchet had stormed Tarragona, with circumstances of cruelty calculated to strike terror into the fortresses of Valencia and Murcia, against which he was making large preparations : powerful reinforcements were advancing by the northern line from France ; and as no efforts had been made by the Spaniards to shake off the French yoke, while Soult and Marmont were detained on the banks of the Guadiana ; these generals were left at liberty to plan an enterprise, under the direction of Napoleon, calculated to change the whole aspect of the war. In the mean time, the weakness and anarchy of the Spaniards were daily increasing ; and the faction in Portugal, which was called a government, carried its insolence toward the English, as well as its peculation and cruelty toward the natives, to such a height, that lord Wellington, having drawn up clear statements of his grievous situation, sent one to the Brazils, and the other to his own government ; with a strong intimation, that unless a new system were adopted, he would resign his command : the marquis Wellesley made strenuous efforts in both countries to support his brother, who had to contend with difficulties that would have overwhelmed any common man ; for the Souzas employed spies about his person, and misrepresented both his actions and his motives to the government of Rio Janeiro.

With respect to the war, however, he had penetrated the enemy's project; and did not despair of baffling it, if he could overcome political embarrassments. To Portugal he still looked, as to a strong citadel, which would be impregnable, if he could gain firm possession of its resources; and these he hoped by his brother's assistance to obtain; when he might either strike partial blows against the French, or oblige them to concentrate their forces. Confident in his own genius and the valor of his troops, he felt that he could hold his foes, even so concentrated, in check, while the Spaniards ruined the small posts in their rear, cut off supplies, and disorganised the provincial administrations.

Having therefore deliberately formed his plans, he determined to leave Sir Rowland Hill, with 10,000 infantry, a division of cavalry, and four brigades of artillery, in a position about Portalegre and Villa Viciosa, well covered against attack; and with a retreat secured either on Abrantes, or on the communications with Beira: the rest of his army he placed in good quarters at Castello de Vide, and other places near the Tagus; partly to escape the Guadiana fever, and partly to oppose Marmont's movements. It was not long however before he arranged offensive measures; though the positions of the French armies, and the misconduct of the Portuguese regency, left him no means of undertaking any extensive operations. Ignorant of the great strength of the army of the north, he determined to attack Ciudad Rodrigo, and hoped to capture it before Marmont could come to its assistance: having therefore secretly prepared a large battering train, which was transported up the Douro to Lamego, he broke up his camp, and arrived with his main force on the Coa, about the eighth of August: on the sixth, however, supplies had been thrown into Ciudad Rodrigo, sufficient for two months: accordingly, the troops were quartered near the sources of the Coa and Agueda, close to the line of communication between Marmont and Dorsenne, who commanded the army of the north: preparations for the siege went on briskly, until lord Wellington discovered the strength of the northern army, from which more than 20,000 disposable forces could be drawn: as his plans were based on calculations unconnected with this force, which, if Galicia had been under a good administration, never would have existed, he was obliged to turn the siege into a blockade, and wait for events: in the mean time, his military chest was totally exhausted; even the wages of the muleteers, on whose fidelity and efficiency the war absolutely depended,

were six months in arrear; and disputes with the regency were more acrimonious than ever; since that stupid government, thinking the fate of Portugal secure, had deprived Mr. Stuart of his seat at the council, and was devising means to get rid of the British army.² At this period, an opinion, which was strengthened by intercepted letters, prevailed in Spain, that Napoleon was coming to resume the command of his armies; when lord Wellington, with characteristic prudence, turned his thoughts again toward the impregnable lines of Torres Vedras; and required of the regency, that the roads and bridges, broken up by Massena's retreat, should be repaired: but they disregarded all his representations; and as the season was particularly wet, the roads became nearly impassable; so that fortune favored the British army, in directing the emperor's attention to more distant objects.

In the midst of these cares, lord Wellington was suddenly called into action. Ciudad Rodrigo having been blockaded six weeks, and its provisions beginning to fail, Marmont and Dorsenne put their forces in motion, and met, on the twenty-first of September, at Tamames: their united armies amounted to about 60,000 men, including 6000 cavalry, with 100 pieces of artillery; while the force under lord Wellington was not more than 50,000; and some portion of that was necessarily occupied in the close investment of Rodrigo: his position also was weak, on account of its great extent; his centre, under Picton, resting on the heights of Pastores and El Bodon; his right wing being posted beyond the Agueda, and behind the Vadillo; and his left, under Graham, at Espeja, on the Lower Azava. On the twenty-fourth, the fourth division was brought up to Guinaldo, the pivot of future operations; the fifth remaining at St. Payo, to watch the passes of Estremadura.

On the twenty-fifth, the enemy were in motion by day-break, to attack the centre of the allied army; when fourteen battalions, with thirty squadrons and twelve guns, under Montbrun, came thundering over the plain, by the road leading to Guinaldo. As the seventy-fourth and sixtieth regiments, stationed at Pastores, were too far distant to be called in, and Picton, with three other regiments at El Bodon, could not immediately join the combat; lord Wellington ordered a brigade of the fourth division from Guinaldo, and directed general Colville to draw up the seventy-seventh and fifth British regiments, with the twenty-first Portuguese, and

² Napier, vol. iv. p. 230.

two brigades of their artillery, on the hill over which the road to Guinaldo passed, supporting their flanks with Alten's three squadrons of horse. Fortunately, the impetuosity of the French cavalry led them so much in advance of their infantry, that they had for a long time to contend alone against the allies: after galloping over the plain, and crossing a ravine, under fire of the Portuguese artillery, they charged vehemently up a steep rocky causeway, regardless of the numbers that were struck down by a storm of shot: still they persevered; but at the summit they were checked by the German troopers, who, though few in number, being favored by the nature of the ground, boldly charged the heads of the ascending masses. Montbrun, however, resolute to win, brought up his artillery; under cover of which, his horsemen gained ground, and then pushed on with such rapidity, that the Portuguese artillerymen were sabred, and their guns captured, before the smoke had cleared away sufficiently to show the enemy on the summit. At this critical moment, the fifth regiment, under major Ridge, a daring son of Mars, deployed suddenly into line; and having poured a volley into the French cavalry, dashed at them with the bayonet, and retook the artillery, which again opened its fire: but although this novel experiment was for a time successful, Montbrun still pressed onward with fresh masses against the left flank, while other squadrons penetrated between the right and the village of El Bodon, from which Picton was with difficulty bringing up his troops: the expected brigade of the fourth division had not made its appearance; the French infantry was rapidly approaching; and the danger was now imminent; when lord Wellington ordered both Colville and Picton to fall back, and unite in the plain: the former instantly threw his two regiments into a square, which however was exposed to attack on all sides; the cavalry came thundering on them; but in vain did the gallant squadrons charge those steady veterans, whose volleys thinned their ranks, and whose bayonets presented an insuperable barrier against every assault. Arrived at the plain, they were joined by the forty-fifth, the seventy-fourth, and the eighty-eighth regiments under Picton, who placed himself at the head of his division, and led it off under the most critical and trying circumstances imaginable: Montbrun with fifteen squadrons pressed closely on its right, endeavoring to impede its movements, till the arrival of his infantry and artillery, of which he had only one battery in the field. Picton saw that nothing but the most rapid and orderly march could save his men from annihilation:

the enemy's horse never quitted them for an instant ; while a park of six guns, taking them on the flank and rear, kept pouring in a terrible fire of round-shot, grape, and canister. Marching on the left of the column, he calmly exhorted his men to mind the quarter distance, and 'the telling off:—'Your safety,' he added, 'my credit, and the honor of the army, all rest with you at this moment.' Each battalion had in turn to form the rear-guard, in order to repel the enemy's advance ; and then, after a volley, to fall back in double time behind that which was in its rear : nothing is more trying to troops than this evolution without cavalry ; since the least unsteadiness in forming, or irregularity in retreat, may lead to the instant destruction of the whole force. About four o'clock in the evening, this brave band gained the intrenched camp, near Guinaldo, and the danger was at an end. By its retreat, however, the seventy-fourth and sixtieth regiments at Pastores were deserted ; but these also, having crossed the Agueda by a ford, happily reached their comrades in the night. Next day, Marmont brought up a tremendous force against the position ; which lord Wellington maintained, because he would not abandon his light division, under Crawford, which did not arrive till three o'clock in the afternoon ; and the French general, not being well acquainted with the true situation of his antagonist, forbore to bring on a combat : Wellington therefore in the night drew off his army into a new position, between the Coa and the sources of the Agueda ; and from that moment, Marmont never recovered the opportunity of success : when he discovered the true state of affairs, he is said to have exclaimed, in allusion to Napoleon's fortune, 'Wellington's star also is bright.' The fourth division, under general Cole, was left at Aldea de Ponte, to which place Marmont pressed his advance next day, when a short, but desperate conflict took place for that village, which, after much hard fighting, remained with the British. The same night, the allies again retreated to a strong and defensible line behind Soita, where both their flanks were protected by the Coa. Marmont, instead of pursuing them, resolved to retrace his steps to the valley of the Tagus, contented with having relieved Ciudad Rodrigo, and driven its besiegers from the walls : the example of Massena was sufficient to deter him from a campaign in Portugal.

The allied army now went into cantonments, and lord Wellington took this opportunity of collecting such materials as would enable him to carry Ciudad Rodrigo by a more rapid

method than that of blockade. In October, a singular event occurred: the troop of Don Julian Sanchez, a celebrated guerrilla chieftain, going to an ambuscade, fell in with the cattle belonging to the garrison; when general Regnaud, the governor, happening to be near at hand with a small escort of cavalry, charged the marauders, and was taken prisoner: the cattle were hailed as a most desirable acquisition by the soldiers, whose camp was not overstocked with provisions: but a still more valuable capture was made in the south by Sir Rowland Hill, who, after driving general Girard's division from Caceres, came suddenly on it early in the morning of the twenty-eighth, at Arroyo Molino: one brigade had already marched off, and was safe; but the other, with the cavalry, was still in the place; the horses of the rear-guard, unbridled, were tied to the olive trees, and the infantry were gathering to form outside the village; when, during a violent storm, and under cover of a thick mist, two British regiments charged down the street: all was instantly confusion; but Girard, a skilful and intrepid officer, kept a large body of infantry together, and attempted to retreat by the Truxillo road: his line of march, however, was obstructed by the right column of the allies, and his men were falling in masses, when, determined not to surrender, he gave the word to disperse, and all endeavored to elude pursuit by scaling the almost inaccessible rocks of the Sierra: they were actively followed; but Girard himself, with about 600 men, escaped to Drouet's corps at Zafra, leaving behind him near 1300 prisoners, with all the artillery and baggage; while the loss of the allies did not exceed seventy in killed and wounded. Having struck this blow, the British general returned to his old quarters; but the report of Girard's disaster set all the French corps in motion; and every thing seemed to indicate the design of a combined attack on Hill: but a spirit of insubordination breaking out in several corps, together with a project of Soult to destroy Ballasteros and capture Tarifa, dissipated this alarm; and the indefatigable Hill, advancing again into Estremadura, obtained some advantages over the enemy, who in consequence evacuated Merida. On the side of Valencia, Suchet was carrying every thing before him: having reduced Tarragona and Montserrat, the French marshal advanced against Murviedro, which he took by storm, as well as its strong citadel, built on the site of the ancient Saguntum: his invasion was protected by the French army of the north, which, menacing Gallicia, fixed the allies on the Agueda; while in the province itself every thing was favorable to his designs; for he was opposed in the field

by the incapable Blake, between whose faction and that of Palacios the captain general, a violent enmity existed. After the fall of Saguntum, Suchet commenced operations against the large and powerful city of Valencia, in which he had enclosed Blake's army as in a net. On the second of December, the Spanish general, floundering like a huge fish, endeavored to break the meshes, and escape; but he was driven back into the toils, and on the last day of the year saw the city completely invested.

The gallant conduct of the British army, though it begins to occupy so large a space in our annals, must not render us forgetful of that other invincible arm of defence, the navy: the seas indeed had been so cleared of antagonists, that an opportunity of putting forth its strength now rarely occurred: this year, however, some brilliant actions took place, which showed plainly that the valor and skill of our naval heroes remained unimpaired. Early in March, a squadron of four frigates, of which three carried only thirty-two guns each, and the other thirty-eight, under the command of captain Hoste, discovered five French frigates, of much larger size, with one corvette, four brigs, two schooners, a xebec, and a gun boat, off the island of Lissa, to which they were conveying 500 troops, with materials necessary for its fortification. The enemy, as soon as they perceived the British squadron, endeavored to turn against us our own system of naval tactics, and bore down in two divisions to the attack: the attempt, however, to break our line did not succeed; and the result proved that there is something beyond this manœuvre to which our naval superiority and success must be ascribed. The French commodore next attempted to round the van of the British ships, and so, by engaging to leeward, place them between two fires: but in the act of wearing for this purpose, his frigate of forty-four guns went on shore among the rocks, and was soon afterwards blown up. Undismayed by this accident, the enemy still persevered in the attempt, passing with their starboard division under the stern of the British ships, and engaging them to leeward; while their larboard division tacked and remained to windward: still, though they displayed more than their usual skill, activity, and courage, they found adversaries superior to them on all these points: they could make no serious impression on our ships; but in about two hours after the commencement of the action, their two frigates, which had fought to leeward, struck their colors: the other division then attempted to escape, but were closely pursued, and one of these

also was compelled to strike : but the *Flora*, one of the two which first surrendered, took advantage of circumstances to escape ; and though reclaimed by captain Hoste, was kept by the French, under pretence that her colors were not struck, but cut down by a shot. The British commodore was raised to the dignity of a baronet for this splendid achievement ; and many of his officers were promoted.

A gallant exploit was also performed at Sagone-bay, in the island of Corsica, by the *Pomone*, *Unité*, and *Scout*, under captain Barrie, who burned three armed vessels laden with timber for the dock-yards at Toulon, though protected by strong batteries, a martello tower, and 200 soldiers. Another action off the coast of France partook of a different character, and showed British seamen capable of deceiving, as well as conquering, their foe. On the twenty-fourth of August, captain Ferris, of the *Diana* frigate, in company with captain Richardson, of the *Semiramis*, discovered four ships at the mouth of the Garonne, within the shoals, and protected by some armed vessels. As they could not be attacked openly, captain Ferris resolved to employ a stratagem, which required the utmost promptitude and coolness in the execution : the British frigates boldly approached under French colors, and so completely were the enemy deceived, that pilots came on board, by whose direction and assistance they anchored, after dark, near to the batteries at the river's mouth : the boats, seven in number, were then sent four miles up the Garonne, where the French convoy lay ; and the tide, though at first adverse, becoming favorable, their success was complete : still there was danger in passing the armed vessels ; but the same artifice was continued so effectually, that the captain of one of them, who was also port-captain, came on board the *Diana* to offer his services ; not being aware that it was an English ship till he stood on the deck. In a short time two were captured ; but it was not possible for the enemy to be longer deceived, and the batteries opened on the English frigates ; yet the *Semiramis*, as if in contempt of their fire, pursued, drove on shore, and burned under their very guns, the brig, whose captain had been decoyed on board the *Diana*. Five vessels rewarded the captors ; who lost not a single man, and had only three wounded in this enterprise.

In the Indian sea, three French frigates, which had been despatched with a reinforcement of troops for the Mauritius, but too late to prevent its capture, were pursued by a British squadron of three frigates and a brig ; when one was taken ; another

escaped after she had struck her colors; and the third, having proceeded to Tamatava-bay, in the isle of Madagascar, was there captured, with the fort, and vessels in harbor.

To the farthest region of the East victory still accompanied the British arms: a formidable expedition against the Dutch settlements in the island of Java was fitted out and accompanied by lord Minto; who entrusted the command of the troops to Sir Samuel Achmuty, an excellent officer, who had rendered himself honorably conspicuous in the unfortunate affair at Buenos Ayres. On the fourth of August, a landing was effected, about twelve miles eastward of the city of Batavia, which surrendered on the eighth without resistance; the garrison retreating, first to Welterzeede, and then to an intrenched position which surrounds Fort Cornelis: on the twenty-sixth, a general assault of the works was ordered; when the lines were forced, the fort was stormed, and the whole army of the enemy killed, taken, or dispersed. General Jansens, its commander, fled with a small number of horsemen; but being pursued, was soon obliged to capitulate; when the whole island was delivered from the heavy yoke of Holland, to taste the blessings of a just, humane, and liberal government, and afterwards to be transferred again to the foul and pestilent administration of its ancient oppressors: for the present however, to use the words of lord Minto, 'the British nation had neither an enemy nor a rival from the Cape of Good Hope to Cape Horn.'

Before we conclude the annals of this year, a memorable contest, which took place at Cambridge, requires our notice. On the death of the duke of Grafton, two candidates started for the chancellorship of that distinguished university; his royal highness the duke of Gloucester, and his grace the duke of Rutland. The former of these exalted personages, being the first prince of the blood who had received his education at an English university, depended for success on the character which he had acquired during his residence there, and the strong attachment which he had subsequently cherished for that seat of learning: the latter, as if undervaluing his own personal qualifications, which were confessedly great, relied more on the vast parliamentary interest which he had obtained, by what was termed 'the boroughmongering system;' as well as on the decided support of government, which he had the imprudence to set forth in a circular addressed to the electors. The consequence might easily have been anticipated: his antagonist gained the election by a majority of 100 votes in 840.

CHAP. LIII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1812.

Meeting of parliament, &c.—Report of the king's health—Augmentation of the civil list, &c.—State of the cabinet and public opinion—The regent's letter to the duke of York—Continuation of Mr. Perceval's ministry—Accession of lord Castlereagh to it—House of Hertford—Lord Boringdon's motion for an address to the regent on the new ministry, &c.—Attack in both houses on secret influence behind the throne; advocacy of the catholic claims, &c.—Mr. Canning's motion in favor of them carried by a large majority—Law regarding the framemakers, &c.—Tragical fate of Mr. Perceval—Provision made for his family—Various intrigues in the formation of a cabinet—Lord Liverpool appointed premier—Opinions regarding the whig leaders—Their long exclusion from office—Character of lord Liverpool—Accession of lords Harrowby and Sidmouth, and Mr. Vansittart to the cabinet—The budget—Various bills introduced into parliament—Population returns, &c.—Revocation of our orders in council; but too late to prevent war with America—Success of the British arms in Canada—Losses by sea—Attempts at reconciliation unsuccessful—Mission and death of Mr. Joel Barlow—Napoleon's Russian expedition—Affairs of Spain—Sentiments of the regency, Cortes, and public—New Spanish regency appointed—State of the Portuguese government, &c.—Position of the British troops—Lord Wellington's advance against Ciudad Rodrigo, and capture of the place—Lord Wellington's preparations against Badajos—Vexatious conduct of the Portuguese government—Various military movements, and investment of Badajos—Siege and capture, &c.—Subsequent operations—Battle of Salamanca—Pursuit of the French, and entrance of the British army into Madrid—Siege of Burgos—Lord Wellington's retreat to Portugal—King Joseph's return to Madrid—Opinions respecting lord Wellington at home, &c.—Dissolution of parliament, and general election—Mr. Canning returned for Liverpool—His expression of opinions—Meeting of parliament—Speech and addresses, &c.—Gloomy predictions of the opposition—Bullion question—Grant of £200,000 to the suffering Russians, and £100,000 to lord Wellington—Adjournment of parliament—Domestic events—Meeting of parliament—Bill for the appointment of a vice-chancellor—Debates on the war with America—Motion respecting the princess Charlotte—Affairs of the prince and princess of Wales—Renewal of the East India company's charter—Chancellor of the exchequer's financial scheme, alteration made

in the sinking fund, &c.—Mr. Whitbread's remarks on the change of dress among our soldiers, &c.—Catholic question, &c.—Curates' bill introduced by lord Harrowby—Relief extended to unitarian dissenters—Debates on the treaty with Sweden.

WHEN the British parliament re-assembled, the state of the peninsular contest formed a prominent feature of the regent's speech: its general sentiments were echoed back by the lords, in an address moved by the earl of Shaftesbury, and seconded by lord Brownlow; lords Grenville and Grey not carrying their opposition so far as to divide the house: but in the commons, Sir Francis Burdett, breaking through the usual routine, and anticipating lord Jocelyn, who was slowly rising to move an address, proposed in its stead a strong remonstrance to the regent, containing an elaborate statement of public grievances; among which the constitution of that house itself was not the least. The noble mover of the ministerial address, having recovered from his surprise, proposed it as an amendment to that of Sir Francis, who divided the house, but had only one supporter.

Before the meeting of parliament, the queen's council had reported that his majesty's health was generally good, though they threw a doubt on the probability of his being able to resume the regal functions: when the medical attendants were interrogated on the subject by a committee of each house, they were unwilling to declare that they had no hope of his recovery, though they did not seem absolutely to despair of it; but the general conclusion was, that the case was desperate; and the various hopes, fears, and speculations of public men were directed to the presumable conduct of the regent, when his restrictions should cease. Bills were brought forward, containing new regulations for the household; the chancellor of the exchequer proposing that an addition of £70,000 should be made to the civil list from the consolidated fund; that the care of his majesty's establishment, the expense of which was estimated at the annual sum of £100,000, should be placed under the control of the queen, whose income should be increased by £10,000; while a commission was appointed for the management of the king's private property, and a grant of £100,000 was made to the regent to meet the expenses consequent on his assumption of authority: nor were the female branches of the royal family forgotten on this interesting occasion, a large addition being soon afterwards made to the income of the princesses. In the present state of the nation, when the cry of internal distress was heard throughout the land, and a foreign war pressed so heavily on the national resources that our

army sometimes could not move, owing to an empty chest, Messrs. Tierney and Ponsonby pronounced these new demands exorbitant, and recommended an accurate investigation as a preliminary step: ministers however were too insecure in their seats to tighten the strings of the public purse; and as parliament was then constituted, its courtly zeal was never doubted for an instant. The cabinet at this time was not only weak, but distracted: lord Wellesley, holding the qualifications of Mr. Perceval in the same degree of estimation as Mr. Canning expressed for those of lord Castlereagh, had already tendered his resignation, though he retained the seals of office provisionally, at the express desire of the regent. The known partiality of the prince for this nobleman, added to his other old predilections, tended to confirm an opinion which prevailed, that one of the first acts of his unrestricted power would be the dismissal of Mr. Perceval's administration; nor did the high and confident tone assumed by that gentleman undeceive the house, until he startled his opponents, on the evening of the thirteenth of February, by the following triumphant insinuation:—'I do not know what may be the golden dreams of honorable gentlemen respecting the continuance of the present ministry; but they may find the opening prospect not quite so consolatory as they imagine.' He spoke thus in the full confidence of security; for on this very day the prince had transmitted his celebrated letter to the duke of York; and it required but little sagacity to foresee, that any communication made to Mr. Perceval's opponents by that honest and uncompromising adversary of the catholic claims, would effectually prevent them from entering the cabinet. Adverting in this document to his approaching emancipation from a restricted regency, the prince re-stated the motives of filial affection, which, he said, induced him to retain his father's ministers; and after an ominous declaration, that he had 'no predilections to indulge,' concluded with a wish that some of those persons, with whom the early habits of his public life were formed, would strengthen his hands, by constituting a part of his government. The duke of York having made the desired communication to lords Grey and Grenville, those noblemen addressed a reply to his royal highness, in which they expressed, on public grounds alone, the impossibility of their union with the existing cabinet; since their differences of opinion embraced almost all the leading features of its policy. On one subject their sentiments were intirely at variance: they were so convinced of the necessity of a change in the system of governing Ireland, and of the immediate repeal of those civil disabilities under which the

majority of its people labored, that to recommend such a measure to parliament would be the first advice which duty would engage them to offer to his royal highness.

All hopes of forming an extended administration having now vanished, the present ministers were retained; and in consequence of the marquis Wellesley's secession, lord Castlereagh was taken into the cabinet. This nobleman was considered as re-appearing on the political arena under the auspices of the house of Hertford,—a family, which now possessed that secret influence behind the throne, which we find so often complained of as interfering with the machinery of government: its acquisition in the present instance, was referred to the charms of an accomplished female, acting on an indolent and enervated mind.

As there was still a party in parliament who thought the present crisis required statesmen of great abilities, lord Boringdon, on the nineteenth of March, moved that the regent should be requested to form an efficient administration: the debate on this occasion was violent; and a distinguishing feature in it, was the conflict of parties on the subject of catholic emancipation. Earl Grey stated the points, on which lord Grenville and himself had declined to enter into the present cabinet: 'it was formed,' he said, 'on the express principle of resistance to the catholic claims; a principle, loudly proclaimed by the person at its head, from the moment he quitted the bar to take a share in political life; and where he led, the rest were obliged to follow.' With respect to the American claims, his lordship wished to bear in mind the maxim so well expressed by Burke; that, 'as we ought not to go to war for a profitable wrong, so neither ought we for an unprofitable right.' On the question of making bank-notes a legal tender, an impassable line existed between him and the present ministry; and with respect to the peninsular war, it was his wish that we should not proceed on the present expensive scale, without appealing to some high military authority regarding its probable result: he also complained of a disastrous and disgusting influence behind the throne; which it was the duty of parliament to brand with signal reprobation. This influence, denied by lord Mulgrave, was denounced with impressive vehemence by lord Darnley; who declared that ministers owed their places to unauthorised advisers, of whom the house and the constitution knew nothing, and whose selfish, bigoted whispers in the royal ear endangered the safety of the state. Mr. Lyttleton, in a debate on sinecure places in the other house, declared that the regent was surrounded by 'minions and favorites;' and inti-

mated that the rewards, which should have been conferred on the gallant defenders of our country, were lavished on 'Gavestons and Spencers!' The most violent attack on his royal highness and his ministry, was made by lord Donoughmore, when he moved for a committee on the Roman catholic claims; but the virulence of this animated and powerful speaker was too much tainted with the venom of private pique: sitting as a representative of Ireland, he had solicited the honor of the English peerage; and the refusal of his request excited him to take revenge by one of the most remarkable efforts of elaborate and personal vituperation ever heard in parliament. His lordship's motion was cordially seconded by the duke of Sussex, who deprecated a system of exclusion, which, without regard to justice or expediency, had been so long enforced by an intolerant legislature; and the marquis Wellesley, while he admitted that it was the primary duty of every state to maintain the national religion, contended that the members of the ecclesiastical establishment were bound, as men and patriots, to stretch out the hand of benevolence to their fellow-subjects of every description. On the other side, lord Liverpool argued, that every government had a right to exclude from power those who were objects of its suspicion, and amenable to foreign authority. The house concurred with him in rejecting the motion; and a similar one, urged by Mr. Grattan in the commons, whom he interested and electrified by his spirited effusions, met with the same fate. The advocates however of the complaining sectaries were not discouraged: at a later period, Mr. Canning made a powerful speech in their favor, and carried a motion by a large majority, pledging the house to consider, early next session, the state of the laws affecting the Roman catholics of Great Britain and Ireland; but when the marquis Wellesley made a similar proposal in the house of peers, it was strongly opposed by lords Eldon, Ellenborough, and Sidmouth, and rejected by a majority of one.

Another subject also strongly interested the feelings of parliament, as well as the public in general. The continuance of outrages in several of the manufacturing counties provoked the enactment of a severe law, which made the breaking of frames, and administering of illegal oaths, a capital felony; though it was strongly opposed by Sir Samuel Romilly, Mr. Whitbread, and Sir Francis Burdett. As murder had in several instances been added to the other crimes of the rioters, a special commission, as well as a military force, was sent into the dis-

turbed districts ; and many criminals, being convicted, were condemned to the extreme punishment of the law ; though the greater part obtained a remission of their sentence.

These commotions being generally attributed to the operation of our orders in council, diminishing the demand for articles of British manufacture, numerous petitions were presented to both houses for a revocation of those edicts ; and, in compliance with the general wish, a formal inquiry was instituted ; but while it was depending, and while the power of the ministry appeared more firmly fixed than ever, its leader was suddenly cut off, by a fate of the most tragical and melancholy kind. On the eleventh of May, Mr. Perceval was shot through the heart, as he was entering the lobby of the house of commons : after uttering a slight exclamation, he staggered a few paces, and in a short time expired. The assassin, whose name was Bellingham, made no attempt to escape, and was immediately examined at the bar of the house ; where apprehensions at first prevailed, that his atrocious act might be the commencement of an extensive conspiracy : it soon however appeared, that he was actuated solely by revenge, on account of a supposed injury : having, in a commercial visit to Russia, undergone what he considered an unjust imprisonment for debt, the refusal of our government to take cognisance of the transaction, for the purpose of redress, made so deep an impression on his mind, that he resolved to take the life of one of its most prominent members. On his trial, he displayed great self-possession ; and when it was attempted to excuse the action, under the plea of insanity, he rejected the application of it to himself ; though his perseverance in asserting a right to avenge his private wrongs, showed that his moral perceptions on that point had been disturbed by long brooding over supposed injuries. After admitting the fact of assassination, denying that he had felt any malice toward Mr. Perceval, and declaring that he would rather have shot lord Levison Gower, our late ambassador to Russia,—he was found guilty, and underwent the extreme sentence of the law.

The earl of Liverpool in the upper, and lord Castlereagh in the lower house, delivered a message from the prince regent, recommending a parliamentary provision for the family of the late premier : the former of these noblemen paid an affecting tribute to the memory of his departed friend, ‘ than whom he knew no man possessed of more virtues or fewer faults : ’ the latter, after a just encomium on Mr. Perceval’s character, laid it down as a principle, that unless there had been some base

misconduct on the part of a public servant, it was the duty of the house to extend its protection to any such, and defend him from public or private malignity. His lordship then moved a correspondent address to the regent, which Mr. Ponsonby was anxious to second; and all parties in the house bore willing testimony to the numerous virtues and courteous manners of this lamented victim of man's wild passions. An annuity of £2000 was settled on his widow, and the sum of £50,000 was ordered to be vested in trustees for the benefit and use of his twelve children: subsequently, an annuity of £1000 was granted to the eldest son, to be doubled at the death of his mother; and a monument in Westminster Abbey was erected to Mr. Perceval at the public expense.

In consequence of the vacancy thus occasioned in the cabinet, overtures were made by lord Liverpool to the marquis Wellesley and Mr. Canning; but they declined to associate themselves with a ministry, whose avowed sentiments on the catholic question were declared to be unchanged, and who were unwilling to prosecute the peninsular war with that vigor which the others required. Their refusal was probably neither unexpected, nor unacceptable to the regent and the Hertford party, who thought that by this demonstration they had done enough to satisfy public opinion: parliament however was not so easily duped; for a motion was made and carried in the commons by Mr. Stuart Wortley, for an address to his royal highness, praying that he would take measures calculated to form an efficient government: in consequence, the marquis Wellesley and Mr. Canning received his royal highness's instructions to that effect, and made immediate application to lords Liverpool, Grey, and Grenville. A direct refusal was given by the first-mentioned nobleman and his friends; irritated as they were against the marquis, who had publicly stigmatised the ministerial incapacity of their late leader. A personal conference, which he held with the two other noble lords, ended in his being referred back by them for more direct and extensive powers. During a whole week they received no farther communication on the subject; but that time was employed by the household troops, in attempting to effect a reconciliation between the Liverpool and Wellesley parties; for it was well known that the whig lords insisted on making a change in all the great officers of the royal establishment: their endeavors, however, failed; and on the first of June lord Wellesley returned with a specific proposition, or offer of a section of the ministry, under what Mr. Elliot termed 'a partition treaty.'

Lords Grey and Grenville, after consultation with their political friends, declined the proposal, as calculated to establish a system of counteraction in the cabinet, which would compromise their characters, and produce disunion and weakness in the government.

Lord Wellesley's mission being thus terminated, earl Moira was next commissioned to open negotiations with the refractory whig noblemen: a conference between them was fixed for the sixth of June; but his lordship had, in conversation with earl Spencer, previously declared a determination, not to admit any new arrangement of the household to be taken into consideration: lord Spencer indeed objected to this resolution as unprecedented and unconstitutional; and when he prepared lords Grey and Grenville for the objection, he expressed his opinion, coinciding with their own, that the household should be made a preliminary question.³ Lord Moira justified his tenacity in the retention of the state officers, by a fear lest the submitting them to consideration 'should countenance every ribald tale of scandal which had been circulated abroad;' not seeing that the course pursued would have precisely the effect which he professed himself anxious to avoid. It is justly observed by the author alluded to below, that there is something incomprehensible in the system which his lordship adopted. 'Is your royal highness prepared,' he said to the prince, 'if I should advise it, to part with the officers of your household?' The answer was, 'I am.'—'Then,' rejoined lord Moira, 'your royal highness shall not part with one of them;⁴ and having thus heroically or theatrically taken the responsibility on himself, he proceeded on his inauspicious mission. This of course failed; and by his lordship's advice, the Perceval ministry was revived, the earl of Liverpool being appointed first lord of the treasury. It may be rash, says Mr. Wallace, to decide whether lord Moira was the dupe or the confederate of the secret cabal, whose game he was thus playing: but whatever doubts may be entertained respecting him, it is certain that Sheridan was an accomplice, if not a main contriver, behind the curtain; and he had his reward—in neglect, poverty, and a death-bed unexampled for wretchedness and humiliation. The conduct of that miserable intriguer in this affair is considered

³ See this subject fully investigated in a clever work, written however with strong party feelings, intitled, *The Life and Reign of George IV.* by W. Wallace, vol. ii. p. 188, &c.

⁴ Mr. Canning's speech, June 11th.

disgraceful and indefensible even by his partial biographer. 'Lord Yarmouth,' says Mr. Moore, 'stated in the house of commons, that he had communicated to Mr. Sheridan the intention of the household to resign, with the view of having that intention conveyed to lords Grey and Grenville; and thus removing the sole ground on which they objected to accept office. Not only, however, did Sheridan endeavor to dissuade the noble vice-chamberlain from resigning; but, with an unfairness of dealing, which, I own, admits of no vindication, he withheld from the two leaders of opposition the intelligence thus meant to be conveyed to them; and when questioned by Mr. Tierney, as to the rumored intentions of the household to resign, offered to bet 500 guineas that there was no such step in contemplation.' Thus the anti-catholic ministry was kept in place by the exertions of a man, who declared in a speech delivered this very session, 'that his objection to the present ministry was, that they were avowedly arrayed and embodied against a principle,—that of concession to the catholics of Ireland,—which he must ever think essential to the safety of the empire.' Mr. Moore ascribes this conduct to his personal feelings against the two noble lords, Grey and Grenville; but more especially to his devoted deference to the known wishes and feelings of that personage, who had now become the main-spring of all his movements, and whose spell over him was too strong even for his sense of character: and then he adds, in his own beautiful language;—'so fatal, too often, are royal friendships; whose attraction, like the loadstone-rock in Eastern fable, that drew the nails out of the luckless ships that came near it, steals gradually away the strength by which character is held together; till at last it loosens at all points, and falls to pieces, a wreck!' A vehement outcry was raised by all parties against the disappointed whig leaders: that remnant of attachment, on which the regent's favor depended, was gone for ever: their unlucky phrase of 'riding rough-shod through Carlton-house,' was not lost on a mind like his: their own famished subalterns bitterly inveighed against men who kept them from the more substantial fruits of office, through what seemed a childish vanity of making chamberlains and vice-chamberlains. The neutral party blamed them for withholding their services from the country in an hour of danger, on account of what was thought a mere point of form;—but the enmity of the invisible corps could not be increased: after all, however, those who know the intrigues of a court, and the ease with which the venom of party rancor is instilled into the ear of a sovereign,

particularly where that sovereign is of an indolent and voluptuous character, will not be disposed to join in the clamor raised against the rejected statesmen. What general would be applauded for strengthening a central position, while he left his flanks open to the assault of his adversaries? The late earl Spencer was a man whose opinion no statesman could despise; and it is sufficient to say, that the conduct adopted by lords Grey and Grenville was recommended by him. The whigs, however, were now destined to a very long exclusion from power; an exclusion, which lasted until those aristocratic party feelings, which rendered them obnoxious to George III, became so far weakened or dissolved, that they could stand forward as the decided champions of the people: and as soon as it was seen that the selfish system of corruption was endangering the institutions of the state, the popular voice called them back to the helm, that they might repair and renovate those institutions, and enable Great Britain to maintain that rank, as head of the great European family, to which an ardent love of constitutional liberty so justly intitles her.

Lord Liverpool had now arrived at the height of a subject's ambition; and whatever might be said respecting the conduct or principles of others, his elevation was satisfactory to the nation: there was no spot on his escutcheon; since he had never sought power with feverish anxiety, nor obtained it by unworthy arts: for more than twenty years he had worked his way towards it by distinguished parliamentary exertions; and during the last ten, he had fitted himself for its exercise by an able discharge of various duties: thus to the foundation of a solid and cultivated understanding, he had superadded the stores of great practical experience; while faction itself was unable to cast a slur on his moral and religious character: the strong attachment which he displayed to established institutions, and his opposition to an innovating spirit which soon began to extend itself through society, was branded by some with the appellation of bigotry; but in lord Liverpool, it was a wise attachment; a conscientious opposition: when he took charge of the helm, the times were too full of danger for great internal changes; and for a long period afterwards, the nation itself was not ripe for them: no minister in this country can decidedly lead the people; the great glory of a statesman must ever consist in keeping pace with the reasonable wishes, and administering to the decided wants of the community; whilst he moderates the ardor of zeal, and checks every unconstitutional attempt. As the appropriate time for

change drew on, lord Liverpool began to relax in his opposition to the principles of innovation; and if the gloom of bigotry and the taint of corrupt selfishness still adhered to his cabinet, others were more in fault than him.

It was an auspicious era when the new minister was called to the direction of government: though the great continent of Europe, from the Tagus to the Beresina, was now bristling with arms and red with slaughter, defeat in every quarter was humbling the oppressor of Europe, and leading toward another re-organisation of its constituent parts: affairs therefore warranted an adoption of the most energetic measures; and, to the honor of the regent, he entered heart and soul into the cause, determining zealously to second the efforts of his great general in the peninsula, and encourage his ministry in drawing forth the almost unlimited resources of his kingdom.

Among the first acts of lord Liverpool was that of filling up his cabinet; in which, the earl of Harrowby was made president of the council; Mr. Vansittart, chancellor of the exchequer; and lord Sidmouth, secretary for the home department: this latter appointment has elicited from a caustic historian, already quoted, the following remark; that 'the man who ascends to the first rank, and falls back to the second, is seldom really qualified even for a secondary place.'

On the seventeenth of June, the new financial minister brought forward his budget, which had been nearly arranged by his predecessor: the charges he stated at £7,025,700 for Ireland, and £55,350,648 for Great Britain; an enormous, he might say a terrible amount! but great as it was, the resources of the country were still equal to it: by an enumeration of ways and means, he produced a result of £55,390,460, including a loan of £15,650,000: previously, however, a loan had been obtained to the amount of £6,789,625; which, added to the new one, and to exchequer bills funded this year, created an annual interest of £1,905,924; to provide for which, he proposed to discontinue the bounty on printed goods exported, and to increase the duties on tanned hides, glass, tobacco, sales by auction, postage of letters, and assessed taxes, the aggregate product of which he estimated at £1,903,000: the augmentation of the duty on leather was strongly opposed; but the intire budget received the sanction of the house.

A bill introduced by lord Castlereagh on the tenth of July, to amend or repeal certain intolerant statutes, relating to

religious worship and dissenting teachers; and another for improving the ecclesiastical courts in England, received the sanction of the legislature: the act for prohibiting the grant of offices in reversion was renewed for two years; and a bill for abolishing sinecure offices, executed by deputy, did away with that of paymaster of widows' pensions: an act also passed, by which the payment of bank notes, in or out of court, was declared legal to the staying of an arrest; and its provisions were extended to Ireland.

Returns under the population act were laid before parliament; from which it appeared, that in Great Britain, the total population in 1801 amounted to 10,472,048 souls, and in 1811 to 11,911,644; showing an increase of 1,439,596 residents; or, with the addition of men serving abroad in the army and navy, of 1,609,498 persons. These results revived the important question of population compared with its means of subsistence: by accounts produced about this time, it appeared, that during eleven years, from 1775 to 1786, the average quantity of grain imported was 564,143 quarters; from 1786 to 1798 it was 1,136,101 quarters; and from 1799 to 1810, including three years of scarcity, 1,471,003: the average prices were, in the first quarter, thirty shillings per quarter; in the second, forty shillings; in the third, sixty shillings; and during the last year, no less a sum than £4,271,000 went out of the country to purchase sustenance for its inhabitants. At this time however it must be remembered, that the tracts of land not brought into cultivation were immense; and the improvements in husbandry were advanced but a little way toward that perfection, to which they have subsequently attained.

Though lord Liverpool had been a strenuous advocate for the orders in council, he was now inclined to consider it better policy to revoke them. The regent had declared, that whenever it should appear, by an authentic act of the French government, that the Berlin and Milan decrees were absolutely and unconditionally repealed, the orders should be no longer enforced: but a doubt arose, whether any act answering to that description had actually appeared; for the American envoy had merely produced the copy of an instrument, purporting to be an edict of the preceding year, which revoked the decrees as far as they concerned the vessels of the United States: after some deliberation, however, it was determined that this should be considered an authentic document; and the offensive regulations were suspended, on condition of the repeal of those

restrictive acts by which the Americans had marked their resentment: but it unfortunately happened that the person who now directed the councils of the United States, was as inimical to the government of Great Britain as he was devoted to the views and interests of Buonaparte: before the revocation of our orders in council was officially announced, war was declared by the American president; and the world saw with surprise, the inconsistency of a government calling itself free, a government raised and cemented by the blood of brave and free men,—leaguering itself with the military despotism of France, and plunging the country into the miseries of a war with their transatlantic brethren, to oblige and gratify Napoleon.

The troops of the republic, under general Hull, having begun the campaign with an irruption into Upper Canada, were baffled in their immediate views; but, having passed the river Detroit, and ravaged the neighboring country, they took up a defensive position. Sir George Prevost, the governor, had made no preparation to repel the invasion; and major-general Brock, who had his station near the menaced frontier, was so ill provided with means of defence, that he could only assemble 330 regulars, 400 militia, and about 600 Indians, for immediate operations: with these forces, however, he resolved to attack the hostile station, and quickly profited by the panic which he produced. Hull felt so much alarm at the defection of the barbarian chiefs, who had given promise of neutrality, that he proposed a negociation; and, at length, surrendered his whole force, amounting to 2300 men, with 33 pieces of artillery. This inauspicious commencement of the war did not discourage the Americans, whose animosity and resentment stimulated them to persevere in the contest which they had provoked: on the thirteenth of October, a second army, repeating the attempt on Canada, took Queen's-town; but disappointment and calamity soon followed this partial success: a small British force marched to chastise the intruders, who, being thrown into confusion by a spirited attack, were compelled to surrender, after a considerable loss in killed and wounded: general Brock fell on the field of honor, as he was gallantly cheering his men.

The Americans consoled themselves for these disasters by their success at sea; a success, chiefly due to the great superiority of their frigates in size, weight of metal, and number of men; though it is not to be denied, that they were manœuvred with such skill, as would have done honor to any

officers in the British navy. The first action was fought on the twentieth of August, between the *Guerrière*, captain Dacres; and the *Constitution*, captain Hull: the former was rated at thirty-eight guns, but had forty-nine mounted; her gun-deck battery consisting of eighteen-pounders, with thirty-two pounder carronades on her quarter-deck; and her complement being 300 men: the *Constitution* was rated at forty-four guns, but mounted fifty-six; her guns being twenty-four pounders, and her complement of men 450. This American frigate, as well as some others, had been originally intended for a line-of-battle ship; and her dimensions were equal to a British seventy-four: besides, the *Guerrière* had been long at sea, and was not in a good fighting condition: soon after the commencement of the action, she felt the effect of the enemy's superior weight of metal; and, having lost her mizen-mast, became quite unmanageable: before she struck, she was in a sinking condition; and was set on fire and burnt by the enemy. Ministers were much censured for want of foresight, in not having been prepared with ships of sufficient size to cope with their antagonists; since it was well known what kind of frigates the Americans had built: they forgot, too, that war, though it ought to be commenced only when every method to avoid it has been tried in vain; should, when begun, be carried on with promptitude, activity, and vigor; especially against such a people as the Americans. The complaints of the British nation, respecting the mode in which this was conducted, were augmented, when the *Macedonian*, another ship of the same class as the *Guerrière*, was captured by the United States frigate, built also with the scantling of a seventy-four gun ship, mounting thirty long twenty-four pounders on her main-deck, and twenty-two forty-two pounder carronades on her quarter-deck and fore-castle, with howitzer guns in her tops, and her complement consisting of 478 picked men. Commodore Decatur, wishing to reap the full advantage of his heavier metal, skilfully manœuvred, so as to avoid coming to close quarters; and when captain Carden, after an hour, brought his opponent to close action, he felt still more the superiority of his force: after maintaining an obstinate combat for two hours and a half, his rigging being cut to pieces, his mizen-mast shot away, several shots received between wind and water, with many guns and a large portion of his crew disabled, he was obliged to strike his flag; and the prize was carried, amidst unbounded exultation, into an American port. Similar disasters attended our naval armaments on the lakes;

but neither ministers nor people expected a long continuance of this war; since it was well known, that in the northern states of the union, there was a very large and powerful party averse to it, as prejudicial to their interests; though the southern states, being less connected with, or dependent on English commerce, supported Mr. Jefferson's policy. Proposals, apparently conciliatory, were made by both parties, without producing even a suspension of hostilities; while no apology was made by the American government for its very reprehensible practice of granting certificates of citizenship to British seamen; nor any allowance for the embarrassment in which our ministry had been placed, through the violence of Buonaparte's decrees, and the necessity of retaliation: it appeared, from a declaration of the regent, that, as a preliminary to any treaty, the president demanded us to renounce, for ever, that right of search for British seamen, which could not fairly be disputed or invalidated; and this, on his sole assurance, that a law should be enacted to prevent such seamen from entering the American service in future. An exclusive reliance, however, on a foreign state, for the preservation of so vital an interest, was declared to involve a greater degree of confidence than could reasonably be expected; and the proposal was rejected, together with a claim of indemnity for the arbitrary detention or condemnation of American vessels. A second application met with a similar refusal; and, in answer to three distinct charges of aggression that were alleged, it was stated, that the affair of the Chesapeake frigate, which was fired into by a British officer for refusing to submit to a search, was very improperly brought forward, because due reparation had been offered and accepted;—that a pretended mission of Mr. Henry, to effect a disjunction of the political league which united the American states, had neither origin nor support in the British government;—and, that the assertion was equally untrue, which imputed to that government any instigation of the savages to hostilities. These allegations, however, said the prince, are not the real causes of the present contest; which will rather be found in that spirit of partiality, which prompts the American government to assist the aggressive tyranny of France, and inflame its people against the defensive measures of Great Britain. He then noticed the arbitrary conduct of France toward the United States; and their ready, abject submission to every act of violence and injustice done by that pretended friend: from their community of origin and interest with Great Britain, and from their professed principles of freedom

and independence, they were the last power in which he could have expected to find a willing instrument and an abettor of French tyranny. The disposition of the American government was strongly shown, in the nomination of Mr. Joel Barlow, the inveterate enemy of Great Britain, and admirer of her antagonist, as minister plenipotentiary to the court of France: and so eager was this gentleman in the prosecution of his designs, that, anticipating the certainty of Buonaparte's success, and the ruin of Great Britain, he followed that invader even into Russia, that he might secure his favor, and profit by his conquests. The step however was fatal to himself; for, overcome by the inclemency of the weather, and the fatigues of travelling, he died at Zarnavica, an obscure village in Poland, without having had any opportunity to effect the object of his mission.

We now come to the commencement of the last grand act in Buonaparte's career, his Russian expedition. An account of this gigantic contest is not compatible with the limits of our work: its origin has been already alluded to, in the indignation with which Alexander viewed the sacrifice of his commerce to the continental system; and in the great game which Napoleon was playing for universal empire: its progress must be briefly detailed, so far as it tended to influence the affairs of the continent, in which our country had, for many years, taken a leading part. Its first effect was a renewal of amity and alliance between Great Britain, Russia, and Sweden; when the good offices of the former power were exerted in promoting a peace between the courts of St. Petersburg and Constantinople, by which a very considerable number of Russian troops were liberated for the defence of their native land. Early in the spring of this year, large bodies of French soldiers were continually marching through Germany: these, being joined by the contingents of the Rhenish confederation, proceeded toward the Vistula, after leaving garrisons in the principal cities and fortresses of Prussia; with which power, as well as with Austria, a treaty of alliance was concluded, engaging each to assist the French emperor with numerous forces. To meet this impending storm, the Russian monarch put his armies in motion, and by an imperial ukase of the twenty-third of March ordered a levy of two men in 500 throughout his extensive dominions. Professions of peace, as usual, preceded hostilities; Napoleon making offers both to England and to Russia: the former were despised; and Alexander, in reply, demanded that the French troops should evacuate East Prussia.

On the eighth of May, Buonaparte, accompanied by his august consort, set out from Paris, and proceeded, by way of Mentz, Wurtzburg, and Freyburg, to Dresden; where, after having received the homage of crowned heads throughout his journey, he was met by the emperor and empress of Austria, with the kings of Saxony and Prussia; while monarchs of inferior rank, princes, and archdukes, crowded the ante-chamber, and made obeisance to this mighty conqueror: it seemed as if fortune offered the incense of this last pageant to his imperial pride, in order to make her desertion of him more severely felt. On the twenty-eighth of May, the count de Narbonne, who had been despatched on a pacificatory mission to the czar, returned with a declaration, that he had found him inflexible, 'neither elated nor despondent.' Alexander, indeed, not only felt that his cause was just, but that his determination was necessary; for the hostility of Napoleon was not to be so much dreaded by the autocrat, as the resentment of his own nobles. On the twenty-ninth, the emperors of Austria and France left Dresden: the one returned to Vienna; the other hurried toward the Vistula, which he passed on the sixth of June; and published a deceptive declaration to the Poles, announcing his determination to restore their ancient kingdom, and inviting them to rally round his standard: 300,000 infantry, and 60,000 cavalry, all effective troops; including a *parc* of 1200 guns, with a body of artillerymen 13,000 strong, beside that attached to each separate corps, did Napoleon carry against the dominions of his antagonist: 40,000 men also were left in Prussia, under the command of Augereau; while 60,000 more were in different garrisons, and on the march, from various parts of France and Germany.

On the twenty-fourth of June, the French army crossed the Niemen, never doubting that the Russians would try their fortune, as at Austerlitz and Friedland, in a pitched battle: it was, therefore, with surprise, that they saw these once ardent warriors evacuating province after province, and exercising no other hostility, but that of clearing the country, and carrying off its provisions: Napoleon thus entered Wilna without having struck a blow; and here he lost his last opportunity of establishing the independence of Poland, and securing the hearts of its inhabitants. The diet of Warsaw, after declaring all the treaties of dismemberment to be null and void, addressed him with confidence in their cause, and in his decision: but, whether he wished to leave the door still open for ac-

commodation with Russia, or dare not break the alliance with his father-in-law, which he had just secured by guaranteeing the integrity of his dominions; he answered the petition vaguely and obscurely: thus the Poles were disappointed, dissatisfied, and prevented from making any national efforts to assist him either in his advance or retreat.

Buonaparte calculated on finishing the campaign by September: his anxiety to reach Moscow was excessive; because he imagined that his occupation of that capital would awe malcontents both at Paris and other European courts; while it might perhaps humble the czar himself to sue for peace: unexpected delay, however, in his progress, occasioned by the want of magazines, the badness of roads, the interception of escorts, with several severe repulses; and, above all, by the flames of Smolensko, and a regular system of devastation on which the Russian army acted, allowed him to penetrate, by that time, no farther than to the celebrated field of Borodino; and there the Russians, under Kutusoff, departed from their plan of incessant retreat: for this determination they had adequate motives; the strength of their position being such, that victory itself must necessarily cost the French a dreadful loss of men, while defeat would save the ancient capital of the kingdom. The number of combatants seems to have been about 120,000 on each side, and the line of battle nearly three miles in extent: success was dearly purchased by the French, who lost eight generals, in this most sanguinary combat of modern times: the chief honor of the day rested with marshal Ney, who was created on the field prince of the Moskwa; but the night of victory was one of despondency to Napoleon, who saw, in seven or eight hundred prisoners, and a score of broken cannon, all his trophies: here were no brilliant results, like those of Austerlitz or Marengo; and the conqueror found that his antagonist would not dispense with the necessity of future conflicts and more active struggles: Moscow, however, was won; and Napoleon took up his residence in the ancient palace of the czars;—that limit of his expedition, and tomb of his greatness. Here he again made offers of peace to Alexander, in a tone of affected moderation, and with professions of great personal admiration: he felt, indeed, the urgency of returning westward; but hoped to receive such an answer, as might enable him to give the appearance of concession to this measure of necessity: he was caught, however, in his own snare; for the answer was purposely delayed till the season of retreat was past. The fiat of the Almighty had already gone

forth; and, 'fire and hail, snow and vapors, wind and storm, fulfilling his word,' were ready to execute his vengeance on the despoilers of Europe. The flames of Moscow drove out those countless multitudes to perish in the midst of northern snows, from which their leader escaped, but only for a short period, to carry the news of his own defeat and disgrace to Paris. Before the close of this year, Russia was cleared of the enemy: Murat was left in the supreme command, which he basely deserted, and fled to Naples: it then devolved on a better man, the viceroy of Italy, who could scarcely, at first, collect a thousand men capable of bearing arms, behind the Vistula: only a few reserves, and the garrisons of fortresses, were remaining; but a sudden insurrection was prevented by these, as well as by the countries still occupied, by the certainty that Napoleon himself had escaped: some powerful impulse was even yet necessary; and this was afforded by Russia, when Alexander, pursuing the enemy even beyond the boundaries of his empire, gave the signal for the emancipation of Europe. It must here be observed, that, among all the hardships of this and the ensuing campaigns, few examples of deficient zeal, and still fewer of breach of duty, occurred among the French officers; desertion, when it took place among the soldiers, proceeding from unavoidable necessity, scarcely ever from a conviction that they were wantonly sacrificed by their chief. By opening to them the road to promotion, by affecting to share their sufferings and dangers, Napoleon had succeeded in persuading his army that he loved them with a paternal tenderness; and these unhappy men were ready to attribute their misfortunes to any other cause than his extravagant ambition: even in Spain, notwithstanding the draughts of old soldiers, and losses sustained in frequent defeats, forces were collected, which pressed our army closely in the field, kept possession of Catalonia, and disputed the Pyrenean passes with us to the last. What would have been the solidity of the fabric, which this oppressor of nations had constructed for the subjugation of Europe, if its foundation had been good!

We must now revert to the affairs of the peninsula: and here it may perhaps be asked, why Buonaparte, who could collect together such a force as we have been just describing, and was so desirous of accomplishing the reduction of Spain, did not complete its subjugation before he encountered a new enemy in the north? The answer is, that the collection of those numerous armies in the north was necessary to the main-

tenance of his ascendancy; which would soon have received a shock, if he had ventured to withdraw any considerable number of his legions to the peninsula: even Prussia and Austria, whom he overawed by these hosts, and at last obliged to come forward in his cause, would in that case have quickly taken arms against him. His great error was in attacking Spain at all: for that country, which might have been conquered without arms, was the grave of his veteran troops, and occupied so many of his best legions; that, without giving up his idea of conquest there, and confessing his error, which the nature of Napoleon forbade, he could not resist the inundation which burst into France over the banks of the Rhine.

Before the close of last year, the Spanish regency had fallen into universal contempt, as well as the Cortes: though vast sums were received, every service was neglected, and the treasury declared empty; while the temper of the public was soured towards England, and all things tended so much to anarchy, that Sir Henry Wellesley declared 'Spanish affairs to be worse than they had been at any period of the war.' In November, the public cry for a new regency, supported by the British minister, became general: nevertheless, on various pretexts it was deferred; while the democratic party gathered strength in the Cortes, and the anti-English feeling appeared more widely diffused than ever, until the church and aristocracy discovered that the secret policy of England was in unison with their own. 'It was so,' says colonel Napier, 'even to the upholding of the inquisition, which, as was ridiculously asserted, had become objectionable only in name; as if, while the frame-work of tyranny existed, there could ever be wanting the will to fill it up.' In this state of affairs, the negociation for colonial mediation was used by the Spaniards merely as a ground for demanding money and other succors, which they employed in fitting out new expeditions against their revolted colonies: the complaints of the British legation were all disregarded; and so far did the contempt of the Spanish government for their allies proceed, that La Peña was acquitted of all misconduct at Barosa, and would have been immediately employed, if the ambassador had not threatened to quit Cadiz.

Foreseeing the fatal consequences of this state of things, if suffered to continue, Sir H. Wellesley sent Mr. Vaughan, the secretary of legation, to acquaint his own government with the facts, and to solicit a more decided course of policy; but he made it an especial request that all subsidies should be settled by treaty; and it was only now that the profligate and

extravagant system introduced by Canning and Castlereagh was amended. The departure of Mr. Vaughan for England, which alarmed the Spanish government, and Blake's disaster at Valencia, aided the efforts of the British minister; so that on the twenty-first of January, after a secret discussion of twenty-four hours, a new regency of five members was proclaimed: O'Donnel, who was one of them, and had considerable influence, was friendly to the British alliance; so that all things went on well for a short time, until it was discovered that the secret object was to procure a loan from England; and when this did not succeed, the old disputes broke out afresh; the democratic spirit and the anti-English party increased in the Cortes; while the new regency, as violent as their predecessors with respect to America, disregarded the British mediation; and having secretly organised an expedition against the colonies, furnished it with artillery sent by England for the French war; and then, under another pretence, demanded money of the British minister to forward this iniquitous folly.⁵

In Portugal, most of the evils heretofore described existed at the end of the last year: the return of the royal family had been put off; and all reforms, military and financial, proposed or commenced, were thwarted or retarded: new quarrels also had arisen in the Brazils, where lord Strangford was under the influence of the Souza faction; and nothing but lord Wellington's strong remonstrance to the regent, backed by his brother's vigorous diplomacy, would have brought the court of Rio Janeiro to reason: its present submission was considered only as a nominal concession of power to its allies and protectors, which was yet to be ripened into real authority. Both lord Wellington and Mr. Stuart looked forward to future difficulties; and they were not mistaken: long before the conclusion of the year, the provisions of the country occupied by the British troops, between the Coa and the Agueda, were all exhausted; and the continued negligence of the government, with respect to means of transport, rendered it impossible to bring up the field magazines from the points of water carriage to the army: lord Wellington therefore had been obliged, contrary to all military rules, to separate his divisions in the face of the enemy; and to spread his troops, especially the cavalry, even to the Mondego and the valley of the Douro. To cover this dangerous proceeding, he retained a consider-

⁵ Napier, vol. iv. p. 353.

able post beyond the Coa ; while the state of the roads, Hill's expedition in Estremadura, and some other circumstances, prevented Marmont from making any forward movements against him. In this war of positions, the British general had kept the advantage : by taking post near Ciudad Rodrigo, while Hill moved about Badajos, he had in a great degree paralysed the exertions of three armies, under Dorsenne, Marmont, and Soult.

Meantime, the works of Almeida were so far restored, as to secure it from sudden attack ; while, under cover and pretext of bringing up stores for that fortress, preparations were secretly made for an assault on Ciudad Rodrigo. ' Lord Wellington's moral situation,' says the peninsular historian, ' was simply that of a man who felt that all depended on himself ; that he must, by some rapid and unexpected stroke, effect in the field what his brother could not effect in the cabinet.' His determination was soon taken ; for while the French armies, occupied on all sides, were spread over an immense tract of country ; Marmont, deceived by the apparently careless attitude of his principal opponent, had left Ciudad Rodrigo unprotected : against this devoted city therefore lord Wellington marched, in the beginning of January, with the first, third, fourth, and light divisions, aided by Pack's Portuguese : the fortress was to have been invested on the sixth ; but the weather was so dreadful, that numbers of men perished on the march by cold and fatigue ; besides, the indolence of the natives was so great, that the carters occupied two days in moving their empty vehicles over ten miles of flat ground ; while it was dangerous to find fault with men who deserted on occasion of the slightest offence. The place therefore was not invested till the eighth, on the evening of which an advanced work, which covered the point of attack, was gallantly stormed by the fifty-second regiment under lieutenant-colonel Colborne ; and this allowed the first parallel to be driven within 530 yards of the wall. The siege was carried on by the four divisions alternately for twenty-four hours ; and each had to march twelve miles every morning to the trenches : no interruption was allowed to take place from the tremendous storm of shot and shells sent by the enemy during the whole operations ; but the breaching batteries were rapidly erected, lest Marmont should interrupt the progress of the siege : the sacrifice of life in this instance appeared less serious than that of time, which would have been followed by an aggravation of the former. On the eleventh, two breaches were declared practicable, and the assault was committed to

the third and light divisions, the flower of the British army; while Pack's Portuguese were ordered to make a false attack on the opposite side of the town: 500 volunteers, commanded by major Manners of the seventy-fourth, with a forlorn hope, under Mr. Mackie of the eighty-eighth, composed the storming party of the third, or 'fighting division;' while the light division sent 300 on the same desperate service, led by major George Napier, with a forlorn hope of twenty-five under Mr. Gurwood, both of the fifty-second regiment. Picton and Crawford, two of the most intrepid spirits that ever led brave men into action, headed their divisions up to the breaches; each of which, after a wild and deadly struggle, was nobly won: but the latter officer fell by a musket-ball just as the shout of victory burst on his ear; and Picton's second in command, the gallant general Mackinnon, was slain by the explosion of a magazine, spreading death alike among friends and foes, at the very foot of the rampart. A fearful pause followed this event; but it was brief: the breach was widened by the accident; and the troops, rushing forward over dead and dying men, carried the intrenchments behind which the enemy was ensconced: two guns on each side of the breach, being isolated by a wide gap in the wall, commenced a destructive fire of grape and canister on the assailants; but these also were seized, and all obstructions gave way to the determined valor of the British soldier: the light division, with equal courage and activity, had surmounted its difficulties, and was soon met by the third; which, on gaining the intrenchments, made a flank movement to its right. Almost at the same moment, the Portuguese brigade under Pack was in the town, having met with slight resistance in its attack on the castle: the French therefore were taken in rear, and surrounded on all sides: still however they fought in the streets and houses, from a conviction that little mercy would be shown by troops heated and excited by so obstinate a defence. According to the accounts of all who witnessed the dreadful scenes of this night, its terrors hardly could be surpassed. 'Throwing off,' says colonel Napier, 'the restraints of discipline, the troops committed frightful excesses: the town was fired in three or four places; the soldiers menaced their officers, and shot each other; intoxication soon increased the tumult; and at last, the fury rising to absolute madness, a fire was wilfully lighted in the middle of the great magazine; when the town, and all within it, would have been blown to atoms, but for the energetic

courage of some officers, and a few soldiers, who still preserved their senses.'⁶ The duration of this siege was only twelve days, being half the time calculated on at first by the British general: the loss of the allies was about 1200 soldiers and ninety officers in killed and wounded; while, on the side of the enemy, there fell 300, and 1500 were made prisoners: immense stores of ammunition also, with 150 pieces of artillery, including Marmont's battering train, were captured. Generals Crawford and Mackinnon, lamented by the whole army, were buried with soldiers' honors in the breaches of the fortress; but to recompense an exploit so boldly undertaken and so gloriously finished, the commander-in-chief was created duke of Ciudad Rodrigo by the Spanish government, marquis of Torres Vedras by the Portuguese, and earl of Wellington by his own.

When order had been restored, workmen were set to repair the breaches and level the intrenchments, while means were taken to provision the place. On the eleventh, Marmont arrived at Valladolid: on the fifteenth, he first heard of the siege; and the twenty-sixth arrived, before he knew that the fortress was lost: his troops were much harassed by ruinous marches in winter; many detachments were cut off by guerilla parties; the regular Spanish troops were also put in motion; and it became impossible for him to move against Ciudad Rodrigo, before the place was secured against all attacks. The British general's eyes were next turned toward Badajos, which he was desirous to invest early in March; because then the

⁶ This account is thus confirmed by captain Kincaird, in his amusing *Adventures of the Rifle Brigade*:—'Finding,' he says, 'the current of soldiers setting towards the centre of the town, I followed the stream, which conducted me into the great square; on one side of which the late garrison were drawn up as prisoners; and the rest of it was filled with British and Portuguese intermixed, without any order or regularity. I had been there but a very short time, when they all commenced firing, without any ostensible cause: some fired at the doors and windows, some at the roofs of houses, and others at the clouds; and, at last, some heads began to be blown from their shoulders in the general hurricane; when the voice of Sir Thomas Picton, with the power of twenty trumpets, began to threaten with his usual energy, while colonel Bernard, colonel Cameron, and some other active officers, were carrying his orders into effect with a strong hand; for, seizing the broken barrels of muskets which were lying about in great abundance, they belabored every fellow most unmercifully about the head who attempted either to load or fire, and finally succeeded in reducing them to order.'

inundation of the rivers in Beira would enable him to carry his troops without risk into the Alemtejo; and a similar cause would impede the junction of the enemy's forces in Estremadura. The obstacles which lord Wellington had to contend with in this enterprise, were such as could only have been overcome by talents which rose with difficulties:⁷ the greatest was a want of specie, which crippled all his operations: but he was aided in this instance by fortune; for Marmont, having lost his emissaries at Ciudad Rodrigo,⁸ and being unable to measure his adversary's talents and energy, had dispersed his troops, in order that he might more easily feed them; and he appeared to dread no farther operations on the part of the allies.

Arrangements having been completed, lord Wellington set off for Elvas, which he reached on the eleventh of March, and prepared to invest Badajos, though all his troops and stores were not yet arrived; but even now his march being ten days later than he had designed, brought his operations into the violent equinoctial rains. This, says colonel Napier, was one of the evils produced by the incredibly vexatious conduct of the Portuguese regency: there was no want of the means of transport; but as the government would not oblige the magistrates to do their duty, the latter either refused to procure carts, or obliged the poorer classes to supply them; from which oppression the peasants naturally endeavored to escape by flight: thus all arrangements for investing Badajos on the sixth of March had been made; but the rich town of Evora, which had not seen the face of an enemy for more than three years, refused to supply any carriages at all; and the operation was necessarily put off till the seventeenth. It was in vain that the British general remonstrated and threatened, or that Mr. Stuart exerted himself with equal vigor to give energy to this extraordinary government in all matters either of small or vital importance: insolent anger and falsehood, disgraceful subterfuge and stolid indifference, from the highest to the lowest functionary, met them at every turn: even the iron strength of Wellington's body and mind was strained in the struggle, and he fell into a sickness; from which, however, he recovered

⁷ The reader will find them fully described in colonel Napier's fourth volume.

⁸ Papers indicating them were discovered at the capture of the town, when they were all barbarously massacred by Carlos d'España.

after a few days. 'The critical nature of the war,' says its historian, 'may here be judged of; for no man could have taken his place at such a moment: no man, however daring or skilful, would have voluntarily plunged into difficulties, which were likely to drive Wellington from the contest.'

On the fifteenth of March, pontoons were laid over the Guadiana; and next day, Beresford, having crossed it, drove in the enemy's posts, and invested Badajos with the third, fourth, and light divisions; which, with a brigade of Hamilton's Portuguese, amounted to 15,000 men. Soult being before the Isla, Drouet at Villafranca, and Daricau near Medellin; general Graham, passing the river with three divisions of infantry and two brigades of cavalry, marched on Llerena; while Hill moved by Merida on Almendralejos: these covering corps, including near 5000 cavalry, amounted to about 30,000; and as the fifth division was now on its march from Beira, the whole army presented about 57,000 sabres and bayonets, of which 20,000 were Portuguese. Castaños had repaired to Galicia; but the fifth Spanish army, under Morillo, passed down the Portuguese frontier to the Lower Guadiana, intending to fall on Seville, when Soult should leave it to succor Badajos: as the allies advanced, Drouet marched in the direction of La Serena and Medellin, intending to keep open the communication with Marmont by Truxillo. Hill then halted at Almendralejos, and Graham took post at Zafra: but Marmont had moved most of his troops in the direction of Valladolid; and it soon appeared that the French army of Portugal would not act in conjunction with that of the south. It would be incompatible with the limits of this work to give a complete detail of the energetic and skilful operations conducted on both sides, in this celebrated siege; but the reader will find them described, as the events of no other siege ever were described, in colonel Napier's admirable account of it. General Phillipon, than whom no governor ever defended a city with greater skill and courage, possessed a garrison of 5000 men, and had also improved the defences of the place by every possible resource of art, since the last attack. The plan fixed on by the British commander was to breach the bastions of Trinidad and Santa Maria, after the advanced fort of Picurina should have been stormed; and then to point all the guns against the connecting curtain of those bastions, which was of weaker masonry, that a third breach also might be made: a storming party was employed to turn any intrenchments behind the breaches in the bastions; and though the

ditch was discovered to be here eighteen feet deep, such was the general's confidence in his troops, and in his own resources for aiding their efforts, that he resolved to storm the place without blowing in the counterscarp. The battering train, of fifty-two pieces, was directed by that able officer, major Dickson: of 900 gunners present, 600 were Portuguese; but 150 men of signal bravery volunteered from the third division to act as sappers: the direction of the siege was given to Picton; and generals Kempt, Colville, and Bowes alternately commanded in the trenches. Late in the night of the seventeenth, 1800 men, protected by a guard of 2000, broke ground at the distance of 160 yards from the Picurina; and as a tempest stifled the sound of their pick-axes, a communication, 4000 feet in length, was formed; and a parallel of 600 yards was opened, three feet six inches wide, and three feet deep. Next night, two batteries were traced out; the parallel was prolonged to the right and left; and on the nineteenth, a sally was made by the garrison, in which they left 300 killed or wounded; while the besiegers lost half that number: among the wounded, was colonel Fletcher, the chief engineer.

The trenches, during greatest part of this siege, were half full of water, by reason of the heavy rains, which also impeded its progress: notwithstanding this weather, however, and the uninterrupted fire of the enemy, the besiegers were enabled to open six batteries, mounting twenty-eight guns, on the ninth day after the investment; by which the scene was rendered one of awful grandeur: but the result of a siege is always certain, unless some diversion be effected from without; and the only calculation to be made, is the manner in which it can be conducted with the greatest expedition and least sacrifice of life. On the night of the twenty-fifth, Fort Picurina, being much dilapidated, was attacked and bravely carried by 500 select men of the 'fighting division,' under the chief command of major-general Kempt, but led in three detachments by captain Powis, and majors Shaw and Rudd: the fire which met these assailants was very destructive; but nothing could subdue their courage and perseverance: so vehement indeed was their attack, that the enemy forgot, or had not time, to roll over the shells and other combustibles arranged on the ramparts. Phillipon, says colonel Napier, did not conceal from his garrison the danger arising from this loss; but he stimulated their courage, by reminding them, how worse than death it was to be the inmate of an English hulk! 'an appeal,' he adds, with too much justice, 'which must have been deeply felt;

for the annals of civilised nations furnish nothing more inhuman toward captives of war than the prison-ships of England.'

The fire of Picurina was now turned against the place; a new communication from the first parallel being made, and three breaching batteries traced out: but while the siege was proceeding, Soult, expecting a great battle, put his troops in motion; strenuously urging Marmont to join him for the relief of the town: but the latter preferred making a diversion against Ciudad Rodrigo, the fortifications of which had been much neglected by the Spanish officers; and he trusted that he should induce lord Wellington to hasten to its succor: but the British general knew too well the local obstacles against which Marmont would have to contend: he made preparations, however, to fight Soult without stopping the siege; yet that marshal did not dare to risk a battle.

Of all officers who have defended a place, in modern times, Phillipon seems to have possessed the greatest skill and readiest resources: every obstacle, which human ingenuity could devise, was thrown in the way of the besiegers; but Wellington's plan was simply to effect a practicable breach, confiding in the well-tryed courage of his men to force their way through it into the place. No respite had been given to the garrison; for the fire of the breaching batteries continued through the night; so precious was time to lord Wellington, who wished to reduce the place during the disjunction of the French armies. The morning of the sixth of April opened with the same heavy cannonade, which had lasted for twelve successive days, without cessation: by four o'clock in the afternoon, a third breach was reported practicable; and directions were given for an assault at seven that night, though the hour of ten was subsequently appointed. The attack was ordered to be made on three points; the castle, the face of the bastion La Trinidad, and the flank of that of Santa Maria: the castle was to be escaladed, and the breaches of the two bastions to be stormed: twenty-seven *memoranda* were comprised in the general order, descending to the minutest particulars, in order to secure, as far as possible, the safety of the troops, and the success of their enterprises. The British general, says colonel Napier, was so sensible of Phillipon's firmness, and the courage of his garrison, that he spared them the affront of a summons; and 18,000 daring soldiers burned for the signal, which was to send them to a conflict, so fiercely fought, so terribly won, and so dreadful in all its circumstances, that

posterity can hardly be expected to credit the tale. Badajos was become a point of personal honor with the soldiers of each nation; but the desire for glory was, in the British, dashed with a hatred of the citizens, regarding an old grudge: recent toil and suffering, with much spilling of blood, had rendered many of them incredibly savage; and numbers were even heated with the recollection of Ciudad Rodrigo, and thirsted for the spoils of conquest: thus every spirit found a cause of excitement, and that excitement was driven to madness by the scene which quickly ensued. The unlucky delay in the time of attack gave Phillipon time to construct such defences, that even the undaunted courage and resolution of our soldiers were of no avail against them; and the place would have defied their efforts, had not an unexpected event paralysed the energy of its defenders. According to arrangements, the assault was to be made simultaneously at all points: Picton and his division were to move from the trenches a short time before the others; but were to appear beneath the walls of the castle at the moment when the fourth and light divisions should attack the breaches of La Trinidad and Santa Maria respectively; the diversion being made by the fifth, on the opposite side of the town, near San Vincente.

Owing to some unforeseen accidents, the movements of the divisions were disturbed; but all marched silently toward their respective points of destination, in the darkness of the night: that darkness, however, was soon dissipated by the light of fire-balls, thrown up from the ramparts; which, burning brilliantly in the air, brought out the advancing legions in full relief: then opened the terrible fire of the garrison; but there was no pause, nor was a shot returned: the illuminated atmosphere showed their path to the assailants; but the storm grew hotter and hotter, as the enemy saw more clearly the approaching masses: at length, the fourth and light division rushed toward the breaches; while the third, led by Kempt, passing the Rivillas over a narrow bridge, in single files, and under an incessant fire of musketry, gained the ground beneath the castle walls: their gallant leader then fell, severely wounded; and Picton, though he had been delayed by a hurt from a fall, hastened to assume the command. 'Never, probably, since the invention of gunpowder,' says colonel Jones, 'were men more exposed to its action, than those assembled to assault the breaches:' 'the tumult,' observes colonel Napier, 'was such, as if the very earth had been rent asunder, and its central fires were bursting upwards uncontrolled:' shells,

hand-grenades, bags of powder, and every species of destructive missile had been prepared, and arranged along the parapet; which, under an unceasing roll of cannon and musketry, were hurled into the ditch, without intermission, for upwards of two hours; and, when the assailants, undismayed by the havoc thus committed, rushed up the breach, they saw glittering across it a range of keen-edged sword-blades, firmly fixed in ponderous beams, chained together, and set deep in the ruins: for ten feet in front, the ascent was covered with loose planks, studded with sharp iron points; which, being pressed by the feet of the foremost, tilted up; and the wretched victims, falling forward on the spikes, rolled down on the ranks behind. Then the French, shouting at the success of their stratagem, plied their muskets, of which every man had several; and each musket, in addition to its ordinary charge, contained a small wooden cylinder, stuck full of leaden slugs, which scattered like hail in the discharge: again the assailants rushed up, and again were stopped by the dreadful sword-blades, immovable and impassable; while hundreds fell from the shot and shells. So furious did the men now become, that, in one of these charges, the rear endeavored to precipitate the front ranks on the murderous weapons, in order to make a bridge of their writhing bodies; but the others frustrated the attempt by dropping down. These scenes took place at the bastion of La Trinidad; and that of Santa Maria equally withstood all assaults: on both, their defenders stood undaunted, and, with deriding shouts, demanded of the assailants, why they did not come on, and take Badajos?

It was difficult to determine whether soldiers or officers were most conspicuous in this deadly strife: leaders were never for a moment wanting, nor hundreds to follow them; but still it was the same hopeless contest: though the gate to victory seemed open, the barrier was impassable. By about midnight, when 2000 men had fallen, and the communications made to lord Wellington held out no expectation of success, he began to meditate a retreat; but at that moment an aide-de-camp came galloping up, where the commander stood surrounded by his staff, to inform him, that Picton had taken the castle by escalade: 'then the place is ours,' was the reply; and lieutenant Tyler was sent back with directions for the general to retain it at all hazards. This acquisition had been made against obstacles almost as great as those at the breaches; for the castle walls were of an immense height; and it was with the utmost difficulty the assailants could succeed in

raising ladders, most of which broke by the rush of men, and the fire of the enemy; when those who had succeeded in mounting them were precipitated on the bayonets of their comrades below.⁹

While the third division lay close in the castle, either from fear of risking the loss of so important a post, which ensured the capture of the place, or from the great difficulty of egress; (for the French, as if anticipating such an event, had built up the gateways and passages with strong masonry) the fifth division had commenced the false attack on the Pardeleras, and the Portuguese were sharply engaged at the bridge on the right bank of the Guadiana: then, general Walker's brigade, having passed on during the feint, escalated the distant bastion of San Vincente, amidst a dreadful fire; when a part of his men entered the town to dislodge the enemy from the houses, and others fought their way along the ramparts toward the breaches: these latter were at length abandoned by their defenders; but a last effort was made to recover Badajos by an attack on the castle: Picton's invincible division, however, beat back the French with frightful slaughter, though an incredible number of their officers and comrades lay dead, or badly wounded, in the ditch below. Phillipon, who, with the survivors of his garrison, had retired into Fort Cristoval, surrendered early next morning to lord Fitzroy Somerset; no time being given him to organise any farther resistance: 'but,' says colonel Napier, 'even in the moment of ruin, the night before, that noble governor had sent out horsemen to carry the news to Soult; and these reached him in time to prevent a greater misfortune.' Here the pen must stop, nor disclose the scene of wild and desperate wickedness, which tarnished British glory, when the miserable city fell into the hands of its assailants: the horrors of that scene lasted three days, 'till the soldiers were exhausted by their own excesses, and the tumult rather subsided than was quelled.'

Lord Wellington has been sometimes blamed for the great risk he ran, and the great sacrifice of life he made, for the pos-

⁹ One of the first to make the daring ascent was lieutenant Macpherson, of the forty-fifth, closely followed by Sir Edward Pakenham. See the extraordinary adventure of these two heroes, in the *Life of Picton*, vol. ii. p. 98. The brave colonel Ridge, also, who so distinguished himself at Ciudad Rodrigo, fell in this escalade; 'and no man,' says colonel Napier, 'died that night with more glory; yet many died, and there was much glory.'

session of Badajos ; but, as colonel Napier justly observes, 'his object was great, his difficulties foreseen, and his success complete.' Immense plans were in contemplation for the subjugation of the peninsula ; and this was the only period when they could be successfully counteracted, while Napoleon was unable to take the command : but how could any extensive operations be attempted as long as Badajos remained in the enemy's possession ? This place was, in fact, the key to all lord Wellington's movements, when the grand crisis arrived : a regular siege would have been prevented by the French armies ; and, even if they had permitted it, the time necessary for its accomplishment would have given every advantage to the enemy. 'Was he,' asks the historian, 'at such a moment, to place the probable loss of a few thousand men in opposition to such a conjuncture of circumstances ; and, by declining the chance offered, show that he despaired of success ? What, if he had failed ? he would not have been, save the loss of a few men, worse off than if he had not attacked : in either case, he would have been a baffled general with a sinking cause. But what, if he succeeded ?—the horizon was bright with the coming glory of England.'

The British general was anxious to crown this interesting and important campaign by a trial of strength with the duke of Dalmatia ; but the neglect of the Spanish engineers and the tyranny of Carlos d'España had rendered Almeida insecure ; and Marmont was preparing to attack it. Knowing however that the danger was not imminent, he still lingered a few days ; hoping that Soult, indignant at the loss of Badajos, would risk an encounter with its conqueror : he was certain also that the French marshal had but little time for deliberation, since the operations of the secondary armies had already commenced : Seville indeed might have been taken, if there had existed any thing like skill and concert among their commanders. These, added to other important considerations, determined Soult to retire into Andalusia ; and Wellington despatched Sir Stapleton Cotton, with a division of British cavalry, to harass his rear : that gallant officer came up with an equal number of the enemy's horse, near Usagre ; when, by a skilful manœuvre, he charged them at the same moment in front and flank ; routed them with great loss ; and, during a pursuit of four miles, captured several officers with 128 privates.

In the mean time, Marmont was ravaging Beira with dreadful devastation, having been driven from his designs against

Almeida, principally by the energy and enterprise of colonel Trant, who commanded a body of Portuguese militia. Alarming reports, however, now reached lord Wellington, respecting the danger of Coimbra and other strong places in that district, which made him hasten to avert it: Marmont's situation, near Sabagul, then became very critical; for he had Almeida and a strong body of militia at Guarda on his right flank; Ciudad Rodrigo lay on his rear; and immediately behind him were the rivers Coa and Agueda, swollen by inundations, which had swept away the nearest bridge at Caridad. Fortune, however, so far favored him, that the Agueda subsided before the British army could come up: he was enabled to repair the bridge; and carried his last division over it, on the twenty-fourth of April, into the plains of Leon. Lord Wellington then made the utmost exertions to revictual Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo; intending to leave Picton with a corps on the Agueda, while he himself marched into Andalusia, according to his original plan: but its difficulties were insurmountable; the French had totally exhausted the country; and the Portuguese government not only refused to assist him, but actually permitted Elvas and Badajos to suffer from a deficiency of provisions. In this dilemma, after writing sharply to the regency, declaring 'that on their heads he would throw the responsibility of losing those fortresses if they did not immediately revictual both,' he employed all the carriages in his army to bring up stores to Almeida and Rodrigo, while he quartered his troops, at the chief points of water-carriage, on the Douro, the Mondego, and the Tagus; a bold measure, since this line was little less than 400 miles in length, and in the face of three armies, the farthest of which was only a few marches distant from its outposts: but he knew how difficult it must be for the French to assemble in large masses before the ripening of the harvest.

After a short period of repose, the British commander determined again to take the field, and crossed the Agueda on the twelfth of June, with a force of about 45,000 men: as a prelude however to his operations, he had directed general Hill, whom he left on the Guadiana with 10,000 infantry and 1200 cavalry, to attack the strong fortifications and bridge of Almaraz, on the Tagus: this, like every other service entrusted to Sir Rowland Hill, was brilliantly executed, and all direct communication between Marmont and Soult intercepted. On the sixteenth, lord Wellington came up with his antagonist in front of Salamanca, which is built on the right bank of the Tormes:

the enemy immediately retired behind the river; and, as the bridge was commanded by three forts, constructed with great skill and strength, it became necessary to take them: a battering train however had been already ordered from Elvas for this purpose; and the service was entrusted to the sixth division, under general Clinton; while the allied army was posted on the heights of St. Cristoval, three miles in advance of the town, to cut off Marmont's communication with the troops defending those forts. Not discouraged by an abortive attempt to carry one of them by escalade, the British soldiers persevered, until a breach was effected in another, and the third was thrown into flames: in consequence of this, they were quickly reduced; and the hold which Marmont possessed on Salamanca being destroyed, it became evident that he must fight or retreat: he chose the latter alternative, and withdrew toward the Douro, followed by the allies; who, coming up with his rear-guard on the second of July, attacked and compelled it to cross the river in much confusion and with considerable loss. The rival armies then took up their positions on opposite sides of the Douro, where they remained till the sixteenth; and it is observed by an ingenious writer,¹⁰ that much friendly intercourse took place between the soldiers of each; more especially between the third British division and the seventh French; and he adds, that the French officers said, on parting, 'We have met, and been for some time friends; we are about to separate, and may meet as enemies: as friends we have received each other warmly; as enemies we shall do the same.' In ten days afterwards, these divisions were actually opposed to each other at Salamanca, and the seventh French was nearly annihilated by the British third.

Marmont, being now joined by general Bonnet who brought 10,000 men from the Asturias, found himself at the head of an army amounting to 47,000 veterans: thus reinforced, he determined to resume offensive operations; and, by a series of skilful manœuvres, threw his army over the Douro, about twenty miles above Toro: he thus succeeded in re-establishing his communications with the army of the centre, while he threatened to cut off the fourth and light divisions, as well as Anson's brigade of cavalry: but these troops contrived to rejoin the main body, which had taken a position on the Guarena. Several days were then passed by both armies in movements and counter-movements; sometimes marching in

¹⁰ The author of *Reminiscences of a Subaltern*.

parallel lines, within half cannon-shot of each other: then the allies, falling back and followed by the French, would suddenly halt as if to fight; on which, the enemy, in his turn, would decline the proffered contest: still it was evident that to this they must come at last. On the twentieth of July, the allies again occupied the heights of St. Cristoval, while Marmont was still manœuvring: each commander waited only for some unfortunate movement, or false step made by his antagonist. On the evening of the twenty-first, lord Wellington, crossing from the right to the left bank of the Tormes, occupied a position on some bold heights called the Arapiles: the French had crossed that river in the morning, and taken post on a different part of the same heights, threatening to cut off the British communication with Ciudad Rodrigo; and it was to counteract this intention, that lord Wellington moved his army: still Marmont persevered in his object, and his antagonist resolved to prevent it.

The night of the twenty-first was very tempestuous; and as the soldiers were all under arms, the storm, which kept them wet and sleepless, ill-fitted them for the exertions of the ensuing day. Early in the morning, Wellington posted the third division behind Aldea Fejada, on the extreme right of his position, under the command of the gallant Pakenham; and a better substitute could not have been found for its old and illustrious leader, Picton, who lay ill of a dangerous fever in Salamanca: the situation of this well-tried corps gave it the chief honor of deciding the victory by a rapid movement, which beautifully illustrated what is termed the oblique order of battle.

The morning was spent in anxious suspense by the allies, who were prepared for a decisive conflict; but the enemy gave no indication of his design to commence it till noon, when some confusion was observed in his ranks; though nothing occurred, which induced lord Wellington to make any change in his own position. At length, about two o'clock, an aide-de-camp informed him, that the enemy was extending his left, with an evident intention of turning the British right; on which, he took up a telescope, and having attentively watched this movement for a considerable time, saw that they were delivering themselves into his hands, and instantly gave orders for the third division to advance: these troops had been hitherto concealed from the view of their adversaries; and a strong detachment of cavalry was stationed between them and the main body of the army, in order to prevent their being

taken in flank, as well as to second the grand efforts which were expected from their known valor. The general's concise orders to Pakenham were, 'to move on, take the heights in front, and drive every thing before him:' and that officer's answer in the affirmative was still more laconic.

Unfortunately for the enemy, their commander was wavering in his manœuvres, when he ought to have been fixed in his position: the French seventh division had been drawn out to the left, for the purpose of alarming lord Wellington; and when the British third appeared across its path, an aide-de-camp was despatched to general Foy, its commander, to return to his former ground: the French line therefore was in considerable confusion, as the British rapidly advanced in open column of companies against the heights: these however were well defended with artillery, which sent a shower of balls among our troops; and was answered by some guns under captain Douglas in the rear; so that the British were actually between two fires; the shot from their own cannon flying over their heads, while those of the enemy thinned their ranks: these however were silently filled up; and the columns moved on, with undaunted resolution, toward the summit of the hill, whose living masses seconded the fire of their artillery with murderous discharges. By a well-judged manœuvre of Sir Edward Pakenham, the companies formed into line without halting; and panting with their exertions, gained the summit: then general Foy's division, which had hitherto reserved its fire, poured a close volley into their ranks; and the ground was strewn with the leading men of Wallace's brigade. Confident in the paralysing effect of this discharge, the French were preparing to drive their opponents down the hill at the point of the bayonet, when through the dissipating smoke they perceived the faces of those veteran troops rapidly, but steadily advancing: for a moment, there was an almost death-like silence: this however was soon broken by the quick, but ill-directed fire of the French, answered by one of those terrible cheers which precede the irresistible charge of British troops. Pakenham, remembering his instructions, 'to drive every thing before him,' had given the word; the step was accelerated; and as the distance diminished, a well-directed volley was poured into the opposing column; to which the dreadful rush of bayonets immediately succeeded. 'The close phalanx,' it is said, 'for an instant bent from the shock: then, for several minutes, the living mass swayed backward and forward; but at length it yielded:—another effort, and it was

broken: they fled; and the seventh French were destroyed by the British third.¹¹

In the mean time, the allies were contending in the centre with equal fury, though not with such distinguished success: even on the right, as the cavalry had not advanced, Pakenham could not take complete advantage of his movement; which being observed by Foy, he brought up a fresh brigade, and was beginning to restore the combat; when the tramp of Le Marchant's heavy horse was heard in the rear of the British infantry: these instantly opened their ranks; through which the fierce squadrons rushed on their disconcerted foe: the French however quickly formed squares, and their volleys brought down many a gallant horseman; among whom, was the brave Le Marchant himself, whose horse, being at full speed, carried his lifeless body on the bayonets of his opponents. The contest however could not last long, though the broken squares bravely resisted: the troopers cut down the exhausted soldiers with unsparing fury, until the latter fled even to the British line for protection: it was given as freely as it was demanded; 'not a man,' it is said, 'was bayoneted; not one molested or plundered; and the invincible old third on this day surpassed themselves; for they not only defeated their terrible enemies in a fair fight, but actually covered their retreat, and protected them at a moment, when, without such aid, their total annihilation was certain.'¹²

Victory now appeared more sure; for the flying French were spreading confusion in their own line, and the British, under Pakenham, were seen advancing against their right flank: the fourth division, under general Leith, which was stationed to the left of Pakenham, seeing the success of the latter, now advanced; and though their distinguished leader fell severely wounded, the men pressed on, driving their adversaries from the field, and forcing them up the hill at their rear. In the centre the result was more doubtful, where Cole's division made a gallant attack on Bonnet's corps, and threw it into confusion: the security of his advance however depended on the success of Leith's division, as well as of Pack's Portuguese, who were to have carried a height, called the Dos Arapiles, on the left of the fourth: but the Portuguese having failed, the artillery on this height was turned against Leith's flank and rear with terrible effect: then the French centre, whose com-

¹¹ Life of Picton, vol. ii. p. 152.

¹² Author quoted in the Life of Picton, vol. ii. p. 155.

mander, Bonnet, had been carried off the field wounded, was rallied by general Clausel, a man of distinguished military talent, who saw at a glance the turn which affairs had taken. Bringing up a reserve, and the remains of two broken columns, this brave officer now became the assailant: the fourth division gave way; Cole himself fell wounded; and his troops were on the retreat. Marshal Beresford bravely attempted to stop them with a brigade of Leith's division; but these, being principally Portuguese, could not effect his purpose: the marshal himself was disabled by a severe wound, and the whole mass was borne back in confusion by the opposing line. Lord Wellington however had been apprised of the danger, and galloped to the spot; when the hand of the master quickly restored order, and turned the tide of battle. The sixth division, under general Clinton, which had not yet fired a shot, was ordered up; and as the enemy saw through the twilight this unbroken corps marching in array against them, they paused, and commenced a heavy fire: the contest however was now to be decided by the bayonet, that deadly weapon, in the use of which the British infantry are so confessedly pre-eminent. While the first and light division therefore were ordered against the cavalry and artillery on the flanks, Clinton's men advanced up the steep and rocky height in line, under a murderous fire of musketry and artillery; but without returning a shot: soon the fearful charge commenced; the enemy, attacked at the same time in front and flank, gave way in all directions; and their destruction would have been complete, if the shades of night had not opportunely covered their retreat. Lord Wellington himself, with the first and light divisions, and a body of cavalry, followed them till darkness rendered pursuit impracticable: indeed, Sir Stapleton Cotton was wounded by a British sentinel, who mistook him for an enemy. This memorable battle was fought within sight of the city of Salamanca; and the ground, with its heights rising gradually one behind another, formed a magnificent theatre for such a spectacle. On the part of the allies, nearly 5000 were killed or wounded; among the most regretted of whom was general Le Marchant, a distinguished officer, who introduced the Hungarian sword exercise into our service, and had been the principal planner of the royal military college. The French lost three generals slain, and three wounded, Marmont, Bonnet, and Clausel, each of whom had successively taken the command-in-chief: their total loss was very great; and, beside the dead and wounded, they left 7000 prisoners, eleven guns, and two eagles, in the hands of the

conquerors : 5000 of these captives, as it is said, with nine of the guns, and both eagles, were taken by the third division ; 'so that Salamanca was justly added to the many glorious names already inscribed on the colors of its regiments.'¹³

The pursuit of the discomfited foe was renewed next day beyond the Tormes, and the British troops came up with their rear-guard of horse and foot ; when the former fled, and left three brigades to their fate : general Bock, with a heavy brigade of the German legion, attacked them though formed in square ; and, in one of the finest charges ever seen, rode completely through them, losing thirty killed and fifty wounded ; but the whole body of the enemy were made prisoners. In the course of the day, the French were joined by a corps of 1200 cavalry from the army of the north, which covered the retreat of their centre, as it hastened toward Valladolid : their stragglers however met with little mercy at the hands of the peasantry, armed with those long knives which form a part of the Spanish costume. The pursuit was continued on the twenty-fourth ; but the fugitives made long marches, and had little to encumber them ; but a patrol captured two officers and twenty-seven men of Joseph's royal guard between Arevalo and Avila : so far the king himself had advanced, with the army of the centre, to join Marmont on the Tormes ; but being there met with tidings of his defeat, he turned off toward Segovia ; though he afterwards endeavored to divert the pursuers, by threatening an advance on their flank. The army, in the mean time, whose movements were very skilfully conducted by Clausel, concentrated itself on the left bank of the Douro, near the bridge at Tudela de Duero ; but was obliged to cross that river as the allies advanced, and hasten to Valladolid ; whence it continued the retreat towards Burgos : lord Wellington then discontinued the pursuit, and turned toward the intrusive monarch ; determined by one bold effort to compel him to fight with inferior forces, or to evacuate Madrid. Leaving therefore a strong detachment under general Paget to observe the line of the Douro, he advanced through Segovia and St. Ildefonso against the king, who allowed him to pass unmolested through the mountains, venturing to hope that his subjects would assist him in opposing the English ; but the demonstrations of enmity to his government, and of satisfaction at the approach of the allies, were too evident to be misunderstood : Joseph and his partisans therefore evacuated the capital ; and on the morn-

¹³ Life of Picton, vol. ii. p. 160.

ing of the twelfth of August, the British liberators were received by its citizens with all the marks of enthusiastic joy. The Retiro, having made a short and feeble resistance, surrendered at discretion, with its garrison of about 2000 men, 189 cannon, 20,000 stand of arms, and an immense quantity of ammunition and stores.

These brilliant successes, however, were far from completing the recovery of Spain. So ineffective was the aid which the natives afforded, and so great was the military power which yet remained to be subdued, that a triumphant result seemed rather to be wished than expected. In eastern Spain, the troops sent from Sicily and Majorca, under general Maitland, were of a motley description, without cavalry; and so much below the stipulated number, that they were totally unable to check the progress of Suchet.

Southward, indeed, the consequences of the battle of Salamanca were strongly felt, in the evacuation of Seville by the French, and their abandonment of the works connected with the blockade of Cadiz; for Soult perceived that nothing less than a concentration of the French armies would compel the allies to fall back on Portugal: but the Cortes, now free to act, and alive to the necessity of greater exertions, committed the control of all their armies and generals to lord Wellington as captain-general. In the north also, some gallant exploits had displayed the adventurous spirit of the guerilla chiefs; who had been nobly assisted in their enterprises by a squadron under Sir Home Popham, accompanied by Sir Howard Douglas and general Carrol: but the retreat of lord Wellington from Madrid, when the three armies of the south, the centre, and the north were concentrating themselves, and threatening to enclose him; and more especially his failure at Burgos, where he was obliged to undertake a siege without the requisite means of success, obscured for a time the prospects of the allies. Burgos being the only dépôt remaining to the French army of Portugal, general Souham, who had succeeded to Clausel's command, threw a strong garrison into the castle, after avoiding a rencontre with the allied army by retiring on Briviesca. The British general, though he was without heavy artillery, commenced operations by sapping, mining, and assaults, as if he hoped to gain possession of the fortress by the magic of his name: for thirty-five days the siege was carried on without interruption, but danger then appeared in the horizon; for the army under Souham, being re-organised, was approaching for its relief. Ballasteros, instead of obeying orders,

and harassing the retreat of Soult into Valencia, had done nothing but appeal to the Spanish army and nation against the Cortes, for investing lord Wellington with the chief command; so that the duke of Dalmatia, joined by Suchet and the king, were advancing against Sir Rowland Hill with an overwhelming force. This intelligence induced his lordship to raise the siege of Burgos, recall his troops from Madrid, and direct Hill to proceed northward and join him. Accordingly, having relinquished the enterprise, he moved toward Salamanca, where he hoped to establish himself.

The cavalry of his rear-guard, being furiously attacked in this retreat by the army of the north, fell into confusion, from which it was seasonably relieved by the German light infantry. To obstruct pursuit, the bridges over different rivers were blown up, as soon as the allies had passed; but that temporary check did not prevent occasional conflicts, which were attended with some loss: at length, the harassed troops reached the position of St. Cristoval, near Salamanca, and there they halted: the Tormes then divided the united French armies, exceeding in number 90,000 men, from 53,000 of the confederates. An unsuccessful attempt was made by the enemy to cross the river at Alba; but they effected the passage at an undefended ford to the southward. Lord Wellington, finding his communication with Portugal thus endangered, prudently but leisurely continued his retreat to the frontiers of that kingdom; where, supported by the fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida, he secured his army in winter-quarters. The campaign might have had a very different result, but for the miserable jealousy of Ballasteros, who was arrested by order of the Cortes, and banished to Ceuta. The retreat of the allies, like such movements in general, when pressed by a superior force, had been so characterised by disorder and rapine, that their commander indignantly complained in public orders of a 'want of discipline, greater than that of any army with which he had ever served, or of which he had ever read.' This tirade however was generally resented as an ebullition of mortified pride, under the consciousness of an error committed. His lordship had wasted thirty-five days before Burgos, which was not important enough to have detained him five; and he felt his failure before such a fortress as a grievous disappointment: but how few generals could afford to make an error like lord Wellington! King Joseph now returned once more to Madrid; while Soult, who took the chief command of the

combined French armies, established his head-quarters at Toledo, with his right wing resting on Salamanca.

In England, a popular outcry was raised against lord Wellington on account of this retreat; and even his great acts were forgotten by many in the condemnation of a single failure: fortunately however ministers were not influenced by such sentiments; but being satisfied with the explanation of his motives, and pleased with the mark of confidence which the Spanish government, casting aside that jealous pride which ill agreed with its circumstances, had reposed in this great commander,—they resolved to send him all the assistance in their power. Thus encouraged and supported, his lordship employed the winter months in rendering his army so effective, that in the ensuing campaign he might enter on a more decisive and extended course of operations: for this purpose, he proceeded to Cadiz, to make arrangements with the Spanish government for the co-operation of their armies; when it was settled that 50,000 troops should be placed at his disposal. He was received with distinguished honors by the Cortes, who augured, that under the direction of so great a leader, those troops would pitch their victorious tents on the banks of the Seine. ‘It would not be the first time,’ said the president, ‘that the Spanish lions had there trampled on the old fleur-de-lys of France.’ From Cadiz lord Wellington repaired to Lisbon, passing under triumphal arches in every town from Elvas to the Tagus, and receiving from the people of the capital the honors which he so richly deserved.

Parliament was dissolved this year, to get rid, as was generally supposed, of its pledge to the catholics: it certainly was desirable, during the times of which we are now treating, to evade that perplexing question; and the nation appeared to think so, from the change made in many of its representatives. This general election was also destined to commence a new era in the political life of one who was rising fast to the head of affairs. On the twenty-fifth of September, a public meeting was held in Liverpool for the purpose of inviting Mr. Canning to represent that flourishing town in parliament: five candidates were put in nomination, but his opponents were Messrs. Brougham and Creevey: the contest was severe, but the exertions made on his behalf were unprecedented; and he was maintained, from first to last, at the head of the poll. On this occasion various opportunities occurred of eliciting from Mr. Canning an expression of his sentiments on important

political questions. With respect to parliamentary reform, he declared, that his mind was made up not to support it; because he was persuaded, that it could not be stirred without stirring other questions, which would shake the constitution to its very foundation; because the house of commons, as then constituted, was adequate to all the functions which it was wisely and legitimately ordained to execute; and because showy theories and fanciful schemes of arithmetical or geographical proportion would fail to produce any amelioration of the present house. 'I deny,' said he, 'the grievance, I distrust the remedy: when it is asserted to me again, as I have often heard it, that, under the present corrupt system, there is no true popular delegation, no uninfluenced or disinterested choice of representatives by the people, my mind will recur at once to the scene that is now before me, and repose with perfect content on the practical contradiction which Liverpool affords to assertions so disparaging to the people.' All this was very pretty oratory; but if Mr. Canning had stood for Appleby or Cambridge against the interests of the powerful noblemen who commanded those boroughs, he would have found that it was not the charm of his eloquence that could have moved the flinty hearts of the electors: and how many towns, and even counties, at that time were in the situation of those above mentioned! With regard to the catholic claims, he fully developed his views in favor of their concession; referring to the conscientious scruples of the king, as having deterred him for so many years from expressing his sentiments on the subject. In meeting various imputations which had been cast on him during the election, he thus expressed himself respecting his taking office:—'If I have held office, I hope I have held it honorably: I will never hold it again but on the same terms. I am not to be blamed, if I must state facts in my own defence, which might otherwise appear ostentatious: it is intirely my own fault, gentlemen, that I am not now addressing you with the seals of secretary of state in my pocket: twice, in the last six months, have they been tendered to my acceptance, and twice have I declined them.' That he was at this time willing, if not anxious, to accept office, was apparent from the reconciliation just made between himself and lord Castlereagh; and, if he was considered important to the administration, when a member of parliament without constituents, deriving his political existence from the corruptions or abuses of the constitution; it was equally evident, that such importance would increase from his

place in the senate, representing, as he now did, one of the most extensive, free, and wealthy towns in the empire.

The new parliament assembled on the twenty-fourth of November, when the commons unanimously re-elected Mr. Abbott for their speaker; and on the thirtieth, the regent delivered from the throne a speech, which embraced a variety of topics, the most prominent of which was the war in the peninsula, that in the north of Europe, and the contest in America. On the motion for an address, lord Wellesley took a review of the past Spanish campaign; arguing, that the system pursued by ministers was timid without prudence, and narrow without economy; profuse without the fruits of expenditure, and slow without the benefits of caution: he complained that his brother had not been adequately supported by ministers; but lord Liverpool declared, that every requisition made by lord Wellington had been complied with. Lord Grenville persisted in his old opinion, that the deliverance of Spain was beyond the utmost means of this country to effect: 'it was cruel,' he said, 'to embark that nation in so hopeless a cause, for the sake of a little temporary advantage: ministers had not advanced one step in the accomplishment of their object; and this third progress into the interior of Spain proved, by its failure, the correctness of the data on which his opinion was founded: how vain was their boast of having delivered Andalusia, which the French could re-occupy whenever they pleased! The blame of this did not lie with the Spaniards, but with those who encouraged hopes which they had no right to entertain: the fault was with our ministers, who, in their ignorance, overrated the condition of Spain, and anticipated more from her than she could possibly perform.' With greater reason, he asked, 'why ministers, with a revenue of £105,000,000, or more, extorted by the most grinding and oppressive means from a suffering people, were yet unable to supply lord Wellington's military chest? The difficulty arose from their incapacity, not from the deficient resources of the country: they might diminish by one half the income of every individual in it, with as little effect, or promise of ultimate success, as had attended those plans which led them to circulate a vile adulterated paper currency throughout the nation: when such had been its effects, why not at this moment stop the contest with Spain?'

In the house of commons, its leader, Mr. Ponsonby, declared, in similar terms, that it was useless to waste the blood and treasure of England for an unattainable object: 'it had been proved,' he said, 'that the power of Great Britain could

not drive the French out the peninsula.' Mr. Freemantle thought, that by the battle of Salamanca we had gained nothing but glory, and that the deliverance of Spain was no nearer than when lord Wellington was in his lines of Torres Vedras. Mr. Whitbread did not carry his forebodings to so great a length : he admitted, that our situation in Spain was glorious beyond example, as regarded the achievements of our armies ; though with respect to the expulsion of the French, he did not think this result was so near as some people expected : he was far from wishing to refuse ministers the means necessary to bring the war to a successful issue ; but feeling for the burdens of the people, and threatened with the present chancellor of the exchequer's financial abilities, he thought the last resources of the country ought not to be granted, without some security for their proper application : under all these circumstances, his advice was to address the regent on the possibility of effecting a general pacification, by taking advantage of that perilous situation in which Buonaparte now found himself, and which must necessarily dispose him to peace. Mr. Whitbread, however, did not divide the house on his pacific amendment ; and the address, which was as usual an echo of the speech, passed unanimously. A similar address was carried also in the upper house, where lord Grenville inveighed strongly against the war with America, which it was then difficult to terminate, though it might have been avoided by a timely revocation of our orders in council.

Probably no set of men have been ever subjected to more ridicule and contempt, on account of their forebodings of discomfiture and disgrace, than the opposition members of that day : certainly, no predictions were ever less verified by events. Thus much, however, may be said in extenuation of what may now appear like mental hallucination ; that it was not so easy for men at home to penetrate the deep and comprehensive plans of the British commander ; while the immense force opposed to him, the strange infatuation of the peninsular governments, and the defective arrangements hitherto made by our own, were evident to all men. Brighter days, however, were now approaching : the regent was animated with a hearty and truly British determination to strike home at the great despoiler of nations ; the premier was prepared to enter into his views, and parliament to second them ; all feeling confident in the valor of our troops, and the skill of their great commander.

One of the earliest subjects that engaged the attention of the commons was the bullion question. Before the appointment

of the committee, gold had risen from £3. 17s. 10*d.* to £4. 10s. the ounce, and since that appointment, to £5. 5s.; that is, bank paper was depreciated thirty-five per cent.: the house, however, thought proper to repeat Mr. Vansittart's resolution of last year, that guineas and bank-notes were considered equivalent to each other in public estimation: this probably was the effect neither of ignorance nor any fraudulent intention; the safety of the kingdom depended on the continuance of the war; and without this resolution embodied into a law, how could the contest have been carried on?

Private subscriptions to a large amount had been raised for the suffering inhabitants of Russia; and on the seventeenth of December a message was sent to parliament by the regent, recommending additional relief; when the sum of £200,000 was cheerfully granted for that benevolent purpose: this generosity of the British nation was acknowledged with gratitude by the emperor Alexander, who declared his joy at the renewal of friendship with a nation which had so steadily persevered in the deliverance of Europe. A grant of £100,000 was also voted to the great captain who was working so gloriously for this cause in the peninsula: parliament then adjourned, over the Christmas holidays, to the second of February. Before we proceed to its acts at that important period, a few domestic events demand a brief attention.

During the whole course of the war, the want of a secure and extensive anchorage near the entrance of the channel had been severely felt; and no place appeared so convenient for this purpose as Plymouth-sound; but, unfortunately, that road, being wholly open, and exposed to the south-west gales, afforded in its natural state no protection during the very storms which obliged our fleets to seek a refuge there. Lord Grey, when at the head of the naval department, first contemplated the possibility of converting this into a safe harbor, by the construction of a break-water; but to Mr. Yorke belongs the merit of having adopted the plan, being confirmed in his opinion of its practicability by that celebrated engineer, Mr. Rennie. The first stone of this stupendous work, which is 5100 feet long by 250 broad at the foundation, far exceeding any of the wonders of the ancient world, was sunk on the twelfth of August: as a similar structure, attempted by the French government at Cherburg, had failed, owing to the small size of the stones, as well as the ill-judged form of the mound; the blocks used in this varied from one to ten tons in weight; and a very considerable slope was given to it on the side presented to the ocean.

The cultivation of the fine arts was this year greatly promoted by the purchase of Mr. Townley's noble collection of ancient statues, which were deposited in the British Museum; while a splendid prospect was opened for the metropolis by the commissioners of his majesty's land revenue; notice being given of their intention to request from parliament an act for making those vast improvements around Charing-cross, and in the line from Carlton-house to the Regent's-park, which have rendered the capital worthy of the nation. Among the more remarkable trials which took place, was that of Daniel Dawson, at the summer assizes in Cambridge; for poisoning some race-horses at Newmarket, by mixing arsenic in the troughs at which the animals were watered: he was convicted chiefly on the evidence of an accomplice, and suffered the penalty of death for his crime. On the sixteenth of December, a proof was given that no subject in the realm is too high for the law to reach, when the marquis of Sligo was brought to trial at the Old Bailey: the charge against him, was that of seducing seamen from the king's ships in the Mediterranean to navigate his yacht; and this being proved, he was sentenced to pay a fine of £5000, and to be imprisoned in Newgate four months.

The commons met again on the second of February, and the lords on the following day; but no business of public interest was taken up in either house till the eleventh, when lord Castlereagh moved the second reading of a bill, which had been previously introduced, for the appointment of a vice-chancellor of England, with full power to determine all cases of law and equity in the court of chancery; his decrees to be of equal validity with those of the lord chancellor, but subject to the revision of the latter; and not to be enrolled until they received his signature. This bill was strenuously opposed by Mr. Canning and Sir Samuel Romilly: the former wished to preserve the office of lord-chancellor in all the plenitude of its power, and splendor of its authority: he was not imputing any negligence to lord Eldon, when he said, that if the bill should pass, a time might come, when all the business of the court of chancery would be thrown on this new officer and the master of the rolls. Sir Samuel contended, that it would effect a complete change in the character of future lord-chancellors; and that the country would never again see such men as Somers, Camden, and Hardwicke. The solicitor-general, with better judgment, insisted on the necessity of providing justice for the subjects of the realm, now exposed to the dreadful in-

conveniences of delay occurring in the chancellor's court. The second reading was carried by a large majority: in the committee, it was vehemently opposed by Mr. Leach, who afterwards distinguished himself so eminently in this high office: but the bill finally passed into a law, and Sir Thomas Plumer was appointed to preside over the new court, with a salary of £5000 per annum, to be paid out of the dead fund: this consisted of money originally deposited by private suitors, who, as well as all their representatives, had died before their suits terminated; and the ease with which this fund supplied such a sum, incontestably proved the necessity of some reform.

On the eighteenth, the American war afforded a subject of discussion: in the commons, Mr. Canning declared, that the provocations to it in the orders of council never met with his approbation; but, as he considered conciliation and concession from our government more likely to increase American insolence than lead to any pacific results, he strongly recommended more vigorous measures, and condemned the supineness of ministers: after an elaborate speech, in which a very comprehensive view was taken of the powers of the New World, he concluded by observing, with reference to those who then had the control of our navy, 'that they held the pen when they should launch the thunder.' In the upper house, lord Lansdowne expressed disapprobation, because, owing to the disposition of our naval force, such triumphs had been afforded to the Americans; and the marquis Wellesley, though he agreed in the justice of the war, blamed the manner in which it had been conducted; hoping that an opportunity for inquiry would soon arrive. Ministers were defended by lords Bathurst and Melville; the latter of whom declared,—as heads of departments were accustomed to declare, when parliamentary censure fell on their measures,—that all the arrangements of the admiralty were the best possible, and defied investigation. In each house, an address was voted without a division, stating that the pretensions of the American government could not be admitted without a surrender of some of the most ancient, undoubted, and important rights of the British empire; promising also cordial and zealous support in the prosecution of a just and necessary war.

The approach of the princess Charlotte to the full age of sovereignty induced Sir Francis Burdett to move for leave to bring in a bill, providing for any interruption in the exercise of the royal authority; and he stated in his speech, that in case of the death or disability of the regent, his object was, that the

powers, now exercised by his royal highness, should devolve without restriction on the next heir to the throne: the motion was supported by the opposition, but rejected by a majority of 238 to 73, on the ground of the remoteness of the contingency, and the propriety of leaving the discretion of parliament unfettered: ministers however were supposed to have consulted, not so much the feelings of parliament, as of the prince, who had a strong aversion to any question or arrangement made in contemplation of his death. Other discussions however arose, in which the princess was concerned, exciting a much more lively and general sensation in the public mind: the severe restrictions, by which she was interdicted from frequent intercourse with her mother, induced the latter to address a letter to her husband, setting forth in strong terms the hardship and injustice of such a separation: this letter was returned unopened: in the mean time, preparations had been made for presenting the young princess at court; and both she and her mother were dressed for the drawing-room; when an intimation was sent to the latter, that she would not be allowed to present her daughter; that office having been delegated to the duchess of York: accordingly, no presentation took place. Again, about the middle of February, the princess of Wales, having sent a remonstrance to lord Liverpool on account of an appointed visit from her daughter having been prohibited, was informed by his lordship that such prohibition had been ordered in consequence of the recent publication of the princess's letter to the regent in the newspapers: in that document, the expression, 'suborned traducers,' was pointedly introduced; and this had given so much offence to the prince, that he referred the matter to his privy council, who advised that the intercourse between the princess of Wales and the princess Charlotte should be subjected to regulation and restraint.

In this stage of the business, the princess of Wales addressed a letter to the speaker, with a request that it should be communicated to the house of commons; throwing herself on the wisdom of parliament, and desiring to be treated as innocent, or proved guilty. A considerable pause ensued after the reading of this letter; and no one seemed inclined to take up the subject, till Mr. Whitbread rose, and declared his opinion that such a communication was intitled to the most respectful attention. Mr. Cochrane Johnstone, who had already given notice for a motion respecting the princess of Wales, was now called on by the speaker; but, on his rising,

Mr. Lygon moved the standing order for the exclusion of strangers, and Mr. Johnstone refused to proceed: next day however he concluded a long speech, by moving an address to the regent for copies of all papers connected with the investigation: but lord Castlereagh, alleging that the only ground for inquiry in this case would be the existence of doubts with regard to the succession, exhorted the house to dismiss the subject altogether, as such doubts were entertained by no reasonable or unprejudiced person. Mr. Stuart Wortley did not wish for investigation, because he conceived that the report of the year 1807 contained a complete acquittal of the princess; and he did not scruple to throw out some severe censures against the prince; declaring, that if he had a sister in the situation of the princess of Wales, he would say that she was exceedingly ill treated.

As lord Castlereagh had intimated in his speech, that the opposition were the secret movers of these proceedings, Mr. Ponsonby indignantly repelled the insinuation, declaring that he should despise those who made the family quarrels of the prince and princess a stepping-stone to office: he had never done so; but he could not say as much for the living and the dead: this allusion to intrigues by the Perceval ministry met with no reply, and the motion was rejected. Mr. Whitbread however would not suffer the question to be so soon consigned to oblivion: he presented a petition from Sir John and lady Douglas, requesting that they might be allowed to produce before a regular tribunal the evidence which they had formerly given before the commissioners of inquiry, whose authority was not sufficient to justify, in case of falsehood, a prosecution for perjury: he wished that Sir John and his lady might be brought to justice for their calumnious assertions; but as he found that this point could not be gained in the strictness of law, he hoped that some other method would be adopted for the satisfaction of the public: he then took notice of some 'disgusting and atrocious documents,' which had appeared on this subject in two morning papers, known to be under the control of government, and patronised at Carlton-house; and he concluded by moving that an address be presented to the regent, complaining of the appearance of those offensive reports, and desiring the punishment of all persons concerned in the act of giving publicity to such indecorous and degrading statements. Lord Castlereagh, after a vehement attack on Mr. Whitbread for illiberal and unfair reflections on the prince, earnestly deprecated the agi-

tation of this question ; and it was not to be supposed that his suggestion would be neglected, since the house cordially desired to avoid all investigation of the subject. The public generally saw in these proceedings of the prince a design to degrade his consort : accordingly, they rallied round her as a persecuted and unprotected woman ; addresses, expressed in very strong language, were agreed to in London, Westminster, and Middlesex ; in consequence of which, the restrictions on her intercourse with her daughter were considerably relaxed.

One of the most important subjects that came before parliament this session related to the East India company, who applied for a renewal of their charter, as the period of its expiration approached : numerous petitions however were received from the outports of the united kingdom, praying for an opening of the trade ; and ministers did not consider it advisable to grant a monopoly to the desired extent. It appeared that the company had not sufficient capital to carry on the trade with full effect ; and some branches, which might be very profitably cultivated, were in consequence neglected. It was the opinion of the administration, that this deficiency could be advantageously supplied, by conceding a share of the traffic to British merchants generally, under certain conditions : the principal of these were, that all ships engaging in the private trade should be of 350 tons burden or upwards ; and those for the settlements of Fort William, Fort George, Bombay, or Prince of Wales's Island, should be provided with a license which the court of directors were bound to grant ; a special license being required to other places, which the directors might grant or refuse, subject to an appeal to the board of control : but lord Castlereagh, by whom these concessions were proposed, stated that he and his colleagues had no intention of interfering with the company's territorial claims ; as that part of the system might safely remain under its present management : in consideration also of the difficulties to which the trade of individuals might be subjected by the capricious selfishness of the Chinese government, the commerce of that empire would still be confined to the company. Animated debates arose in the progress of this ministerial scheme ; which, although the company made strenuous efforts to retain their monopoly, appeared just and reasonable to a majority of both houses : it was not however merely a commercial scheme ; but it partook of a political and religious character, inasmuch as it provided for the better government of the provinces, and more economical management of the funds ; regulated the ad-

ministration of justice ; and, in addition to the appointment of a bishop with three archdeacons, encouraged the propagation of christianity among the natives by licensed missionaries. Thus a bill was enacted for the prolongation of the company's territorial power to April, 1834.

During the agitation of this important question, the chancellor of the exchequer brought forward several schemes of finance ; one of which was calculated to facilitate the redemption of the land-tax : a second proposed that on all future loans there should be an additional one per cent to the sinking fund for their extinction ; and that on exchequer bills, and other floating unfunded property, a sinking fund of one per cent should be established : his third proposition was to repeal part of the act of 1802, which provided that the sinking fund then existing should be suffered to accumulate at compound interest, without any interruption or encroachment, until the funded debt to which it belonged was wholly liquidated. It had already, as Mr. Vansittart stated, redeemed as much as formed the amount of the whole debt at the time when Mr. Pitt's plan was adopted ; therefore he thought it expedient that the rigor of appropriation should be relaxed, for the relief and convenience of the public. Till the complete redemption of the debt, which then remained unredeemed, he said it would be proper to make good to the sinking fund the annual sum of £870,000, which would have been appropriated to the redemption of the different sums provided for in 1802, if Mr. Pitt's plan of consolidation had not taken place, and if those sums had been accompanied by the usual redeeming fund of one per cent. Though this scheme interfered with the inalienable character of the sinking fund, it was thought more advisable that the community should derive occasional benefit from the growing mass, than wait *sine die* for the full effect of the promised redemption ; and the change proposed was adopted by both houses.

During the debates on the army estimates, Mr. Whitbread took occasion to make some pertinent remarks on the alterations of dress among our soldiers ; regretting to see such mummary imposed on them, at which every Englishman laughed as they passed along the streets : he could wish also that the national uniform had not been departed from : scarlet was the established English color, and the soldier was proud of it ; why then had we adopted the varieties of color used on the continent, in consequence of which many fatal accidents had happened to our men, mistaking each other for enemies ? To have

interfered however with the arrangements of military dress, would have been to cut off the principal source of enjoyment which his station had conferred on the regent. Addicted to this passion in his early youth, and encouraged in it by courtly parasites, he clung to it latterly with a fond and faithful attachment; so that not only were the convivial meetings at Carlton-house, that paradise of tailors, enlivened by learned disquisitions on costume; but a very large portion of each morning was dedicated to practical illustrations of the noble art of cutting out.

The catholic question was this session brought forward and discussed with a few circumstances of novelty: on the twenty-fifth of February, Mr. Grattan moved for a committee of the whole house on this subject, and each party anticipated a triumphant result for itself: the veteran mover of the resolution spoke with a union of eloquence and argument, which was only equalled by the splendid efforts of Mr. Plunkett in the same cause; and after the debate had been continued through four adjournments, the motion was carried at five in the morning of the fifth day by a majority of 264 votes against 224. On the ninth of March, the house went into a committee: Mr. Grattan, on that occasion, moved two preliminary resolutions, which were opposed by the speaker; who, having left the chair, and taken his seat on the treasury bench, assumed his privilege as a representative of the commons: he declared himself not adverse to concession, but was hardly willing to go farther than the allowing free exercise of religious worship to the Roman catholic soldiers in England, as well as in Ireland: after a long debate, however, the resolutions were carried by a considerable majority; and on the thirtieth of April, Mr. Grattan brought forward a bill, which was ordered to be read a second time on the eleventh of May; but at that period, when the second reading was about to take place, Sir John Cox Hipplesley, a veteran in the cause of catholic emancipation, conceiving himself slighted by the framers of the bill, moved a previous inquiry, so vast and various in its details, that to have gone through it satisfactorily must have put off emancipation to a future age: his proposition was received with flattering testimonies of applause by the opponents of the bill; but after calling forth an unrivalled effusion of wit and sarcastic humor from Mr. Canning, was rejected: the second reading, however, could not take place that night; and three days were gained for the exertion of influence and authority. On the eleventh of May, the bill was read a second time, and committed on the

fourteenth ; when considerable alterations were made, with a view to satisfy the doubts and fears of protestants : on the twenty-fourth, it was brought again before a committee of the whole house, in which the opposing party determined to make a final stand : the speaker was again first to rise ; and as all yielded to his claim of precedence, he took the occasion of delivering a very elaborate speech, which he concluded by moving, that a clause in the bill, which opened the two houses of parliament to Roman catholics, be omitted : after a long debate, his motion was carried by a majority of four, and the bill was abandoned by its supporters as unworthy of acceptance. This rejection of their claims was received by the Irish catholics with sentiments of extreme indignation ; and an absurd proposition of appealing to the Spanish Cortes, for their mediation with the British government, was referred to a committee. Little less of wisdom or moderation was shown by those English protestants, who displayed their triumph over the disappointed party, by the establishment or renewal of Orange lodges : the object however of these associations, as well as the spirit and temper which they manifested, was so severely reprobated in parliament, even by ministers themselves, and excited so much disgust among the more sober-minded portion of the protestant community, that they were soon broken up : yet it was lamentable to find some of the leading nobles in the land, some of the chief favorites of princes, so far forgetting themselves, as to patronise associations, that were not only hostile to a wise and moderate policy, but also at variance with our legal institutions. When, alas ! will history cease to become a dead letter ?

The extensive principles of religious toleration displayed in previous discussions, induced Mr. William Smith, one of the members for Norwich, to bring in a bill for relieving unitarian dissenters from the pains and penalties to which they were subject. According to a statute of William III. a person who should impugn the doctrine of the Trinity in conversation or writing was incapacitated from holding any office, civil, ecclesiastical, or military ; and if a second time convicted of this offence, he was prohibited from prosecuting any action or information, or from becoming the guardian of a child ; and was besides liable to an imprisonment of three years. Neither the ministers nor the bench of bishops opposed concession in this instance ; and a bill of relief was speedily enacted.

While parliament declined the grant of any fresh concessions to the Romanists, a strong inclination was shown to

promote the interest of a numerous and deserving party in our own ecclesiastical establishment. The general disproportion between the stipends of curates and the value of livings which they served, as well as the necessitous condition of many who performed the duty of non-resident clergymen, had long been a reproach to the church of England: to remove this stigma, lord Harrowby brought forward a bill for the augmentation of stipends payable to English curates; and though it met with opposition from the lord chancellor, the lord chief-justice, and several prelates, who contended that it would encroach on the rights of beneficed clergymen, and even on private property; it passed triumphantly through both houses.

Among the political debates of the session, one of the most animated related to a convention with the Swedish court: in the upper house, this treaty provoked great severity of animadversion, notwithstanding an elaborate vindication of its terms by the earl of Liverpool: the minister maintained the policy of securing the zealous co-operation of the Swedes, which Napoleon had eagerly endeavored, both by threats and promises, to obtain. By the solicitations of the Russian emperor, the king and crown prince had been induced to enter into the confederacy against France; and it was resolved, that, as the Danes had been subservient to French interests, they should be deprived of Norway for the gratification of the Swedes, who would thus be enabled more effectually to secure their respectability and independence: to this stipulation the British court had acceded, not only for the reason already assigned; but because it was desirable, that a country which abounded with naval stores should be possessed by a power friendly to Great Britain. In addition, also, to this transfer, it was agreed that Sweden should receive a subsidy of one million, and that the island of Guadaloupe should be ceded to its monarch, who had promised, in return, to open a dépôt for British commodities, in defiance of the continental system, at Gottenburg and other ports. The display of these advantages did not convince lord Holland of the equity or justice of the measure: he considered it as a very reprehensible treaty, disgraceful both to Russia and Great Britain; since the czar had no intention of restoring Finland to the Swedes, he was willing, said his lordship, to pacify them by plundering a third power, with which he was not at war: this conduct so resembled the practice of France, that he was disgusted at the gross inconsistency of those courts, which had loudly exclaimed against Napoleon's encroachments. Earl Grey was

equally warm in his censures and invectives; but a majority of the peers, impressed with the expediency of the measure, gave their approbation to the treaty. In the commons, Mr. Ponsonby took the lead as an opposer of the agreement; and, having assailed it with forcible arguments, he proposed that the regent should be requested to suspend its execution; not only because it violated morality, and the law of nations; but also on account of its impolicy, exhibited in the cession of Guadaloupe, and the unnecessary grant of £1,000,000: even Mr. Canning arraigned the conduct of his friends in this negociation; yet he did not wish the house to adopt Mr. Ponsonby's motion, which he therefore softened by a qualifying amendment; but the majority rejected both, and gratified the regent with a compliant address. The session closed on the twenty-second of July.

CHAP. LIV.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1813.

Defection of allies from Napoleon—His spirit and resources under this reverse of fortune—His departure from St. Cloud—Line occupied by the belligerents—Battles of Lutzen and Bautzen—Armistice and mediation of Austria—It fails, and Austria joins the allies—Influence of England—Napoleon's position at Dresden—Schwartzburg attacks the city, and fails—Napoleon's reverses commence—He retreats to Leipsic—Is defeated there, and flies to the Rhine—Dissolution of the Rhenish confederation, &c.—Other states declare themselves free—Declaration of the allies at Frankfort—Rejected by Buonaparte—State of the armies in Spain—Efforts of the guerillas, &c.—Plan of the French campaign—The Douro taken as their base of operations—Joseph leaves Madrid—Affairs on the eastern coast of Spain; siege of Tarragona, &c.—Lord Wellington's advance—Surprise of Villatte's corps at Salamanca—The French army—Attack of its rear-guard at Morales—French retire behind the Carrion—Fall back on Burgos, and finally on Vittoria—Great battle, and defeat of the French, &c.—Joseph flies to Pampeluna, and thence to the Pyrenees—Pampeluna and St. Sebastian invested—Soult sent to take the chief command in Spain—Advances to attack the position of the allies, and is repulsed, and passes the Bidassoa—Suchet's movements—Siege and capture of St. Sebastian—Affairs in Catalonia—Ingratitude of the Spanish government—Campaign in the Pyrenees, from the passage of the Bidassoa to the retreat of the French to Bayonne—American campaign—Naval contest between the Shannon and the Chesapeake.

THE first event, abroad, which marked this eventful year, was the defection of the Prussian general D'Yorck, whose convention with the Russian Wittgenstein was not ratified by the king, his master, who was then within the grasp of Buonaparte: but no sooner was he free from danger, and aware that there was a chance of emancipation for himself and his country,

than he expressed decided approbation at the conduct of his general, and soon afterwards joined the emperor Alexander at Breslau. As the season advanced, a Russian envoy was despatched to Vienna, and an armistice was concluded: an Austrian ambassador arrived in London; and Sweden, by entering into an advantageous treaty, agreed to strike a decisive blow against the French in Pomerania: alliances also with England were subsequently formed both by Prussia and Russia. In the mean time, the advance of Wittgenstein had compelled the French to abandon the Oder, on which they had fallen back under Eugene Beauharnois, and to take up the defence of a new frontier on the Elbe: among all the great allies of France, Austria alone preserved a neutrality; but it scarcely could be expected that the court of Vienna, even if it had been inclined to favor the projects of Napoleon, could long resist the general outcry of Germany.

Though the decline of Buonaparte's power was now evident; though all Europe had become weary of his domination, and those allies, by whose concurrence he had been raised, took part against him; though, at home, the priests had been secretly conspiring against him, since his rupture with the pope, and the mass of the nation began to show itself as weary of his conquests, as it once was of the factions from which he rescued them;—his indomitable spirit still bore him up against all reverses. During the first three months of the year, he strained every nerve to recruit his armies, or rather to create new ones: by a decree of the conservative senate on the tenth of January, 250,000 conscripts more than he had demanded were placed at his disposal; for he found means to impart a portion of his spirit, even to those who were tired of his dominion; and he exhibited no slight knowledge of the French character, when he declared in the *Moniteur* of the thirtieth of March, 'that even if the enemy stood on Montmartre, he would not give up a village of the empire:' by the beginning of April, he had procured decrees for levies to the amount of 535,000 men. On the fifteenth, he left St. Cloud, Maria Louisa having been declared regent of the French empire, 'till victory should restore the emperor to his capital.'

Germany was again destined for the field of battle: the Elbe, from its mouth to the frontiers of Bohemia, formed the line of division between the belligerents; and on the other side, three Prussian fortresses, besides Dantzic, were in the hands of the French: Napoleon also exacted their contingents from

the princes of the Rhenish confederation, while he retained his faithful ally, the king of Saxony, and gained a willing one in Denmark, disgusted at the prospect of the Norwegian appropriation. Painful as was the situation of the towns and places that lay between the armies, a still more cruel fate befel Hamburg, which, having opened its gates to the Cossacks in March, was re-occupied by the French in May, and abandoned to the revenge of Napoleon under the rigorous administration of the inexorable Davoust. The war of liberation began with the battle of Lutzen, on the second of May, which Napoleon gained with an army composed chiefly of raw conscripts: still there were no longer the brilliant results of victory, the cannon, the standards, the baggage taken: the day of panic was now gone; and the allies made a regular retreat, not a disorderly flight, over the Elbe. The occupation of Dresden was followed by another victory at Bautzen, on the twenty-first of May, which obliged the allies to evacuate their line of defence, that covered Silesia, and to retire into Bohemia; but their retreat was still orderly, not a cannon or a prisoner being left in possession of the enemy. This victory opened to the French a passage to the Oder: Glogau was relieved, Breslau occupied, and Berlin itself was threatened. At this crisis, an appeal made to Austria took effect: an armistice had been agreed to soon after the battle, both parties being exhausted, and expecting reinforcements; during which period, the emperor Francis interposed his mediation. How visible appears the hand of Providence in the fall of Napoleon! had he been repulsed from Bautzen, before Austria entered into any stipulation with the allies, that power would probably have pressed for nothing beyond the independence of Germany: now to this demand she added the abandonment of the duchy of Warsaw and of Illyria, the re-establishment of the Prussian monarchy, and the dissolution of the confederation of the Rhine: Napoleon's pride could not yield to this: the tenor of his answer was even affronting; and on the twelfth of August, Austria, joining the allies, declared war against France: during the armistice, she had concerted a preliminary alliance with Russia and Prussia, which came into operation of itself with the declaration of war. Great Britain also took advantage of this opportunity to put forth her mighty powers, and at the right time: Sweden had been first taken into her pay: in the middle of June she concluded a treaty of subsidies with Russia and Prussia; giving, in addition, her guarantee for paper money

to the amount of £5,000,000 sterling, under the name of federative money ; and in the beginning of October, she signed a treaty of alliance with Austria, stipulating for mutual aid with all their forces : her victories also, as well as her purse, came most opportunely to rouse and push to its conclusion that European reaction against France, which otherwise might have languished ; for tidings of the great battle of Vittoria arrived at the very point of time to strengthen the confidence of German courts and ministers.

Napoleon's principal officers now advised him to retreat at once to the Rhine ; but he had fortified Dresden, and distributed his army in separate corps around it, holding the imperial guard under his own command, as a reserve ; and with these he determined to try the fortune of war. As soon as the armistice expired, Napoleon had hastened with his guard, and some of his divisions, to surprise Blucher ; but that general, according to a concerted plan, retreated, and carried with him two Westphalian regiments, who deserted the French ranks : in the mean time, prince Schwartzenburg, to whom the command in chief of all the armies was confided, attacked Dresden, and was on the point of success ; when Napoleon returned with his legions, repulsed the enemy from the city walls, and in two successive days of fighting wholly routed his opponents, taking all their cannon, with 20,000 prisoners. This victory, however, though of a decisive character, was followed by a quick succession of reverses. Vandamme, who had pursued a part of the retreating army into Bohemia, being taken in front and rear by a Prussian and a Russian army, was obliged to surrender with his whole division : besides, the defensive plan of the allies, said to have been recommended by Bernadotte, now proved fatal to Napoleon : this was, to retreat from him, but always to make head against his lieutenants. Thus Blucher, that old man with the spirit of youth, defeated Macdonald on the twenty-sixth of August, with the almost total annihilation of his army : Oudinot, sent against Berlin, as the minister of Napoleon's vengeance, had been just before defeated by Bernadotte at Gross-Beeren ; and Ney, despatched to repair this loss, could not master fortune : he was routed by the same commander in the battle of Dennewitz, where his Saxon regiments deserted him during the heat of the conflict ; and it became evident that none of the auxiliaries could be depended on : in the mean time, Napoleon's generals became dispirited ; and, contrary to their master's inclination, counselled retreat : the allied force daily

increased while his own diminished ; Bavaria was obliged to declare against him ; and Leipsic was menaced in his rear : so that in the early part of October he was obliged to transfer his headquarters to that city, leaving marshal St. Cyr in command at Dresden. The decisive battle, of three days' duration, which decided Napoleon's fate on the plains of Leipsic, took place on the sixteenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth of October : during the seventeenth was a truce ; but on the evening of that day, the four armies of the allies formed a junction, presenting, with their reserves, a force of 300,000 men, opposed to about 170,000. The military annals of the world afford no parallel to such a meeting : on the eighteenth, there was a grand attack ; and after nine hours of hard fighting, the battle was decided : on the nineteenth, Leipsic was taken by assault ; the Saxon king was made prisoner ; and the emperor fled with his routed army to the Rhine, pursued by Blucher : on his way, he was attacked by the Bavarians, under Wrede ; but a charge by the remnant of the old guard sufficed to punish this ingratitude ; and he carried about 70,000 men to Mayence, to fill the hospitals of that city.

After this victory, the princes of Germany, and with them the people, arose and threw off the yoke of the Rhenish confederation : the war took now decidedly a popular character ; men, and even women, rose up in arms for the liberation of their father-land : the spirit of Hermann seemed awakened ; and the day of suffering for Germany was the day of its glory. As the revolutionary tide flowed back into its ancient channel, monarchs began to mark and claim their properties : Hanover and Brunswick resumed their ancient allegiance ; Holland recalled its former dynasty ; and William of Orange was now recognised as king of the Netherlands : Bernadotte in the north, and Murat in the south, alone held their kingdoms by joining the allies against Napoleon ; while the emperor himself set free the pope and Ferdinand of Spain. Thus fell the exterior defences of universal monarchy, because it was not built on the will of the people, and had been pushed beyond due geographical limits. In the mean time, the allies declared, on the first of December, at Frankfort, ' that they contended not against France, but against the preponderance exercised by Napoleon beyond the boundaries of his empire : they offered him peace, on the condition of independence : they wished to see France great, powerful, and happy, as one of the corner-stones of the social system : they would permit her to retain a

territory greater than she had ever possessed under her kings: but they too wished to be quiet and happy: they desired a state of peace, with a just balance and distribution of power, to protect them from the misery which they had experienced during twenty years; and till this object was attained, they would not lay aside their arms.' Nothing could be more noble, just, and elevated than these sentiments: the hand of Providence, however, was still visible: the heart of Napoleon, like that of Pharaoh, was hardened: it appeared to him, that he would disgrace himself by accepting for France boundaries less extensive than she had acquired during the republic, even though they should extend from the Rhine and the Alps to the Pyrenees: besides, the idea never forsook him, that his imperial father-in-law would at all events preserve him on the throne. But while Buonaparte was deliberating on these boundaries, the most skilful and persevering of his antagonists had already passed them: Wellington, with his British army and peninsular allies, stood on the 'sacred territory' of France: his progress thither, almost every step of which was illustrated by a victory, now remains to be described.

While the period of inactivity had been employed by this great commander in restoring the health, discipline, and numbers of his army, the forces of his antagonists were cut up by the exertions of guerilla parties, especially those under Longa in the north, and Mina in Arragon and Navarre, who were materially assisted by supplies from British vessels on the coast: so formidable had these chiefs now become, that general Clausel himself advanced with a large body of troops to hunt down Mina; but in this attempt, his own men suffered much more than their hardy opponents, who were intimately acquainted with the country, and accustomed to the hair-breadth escapes of such campaigns. On the side of Biscay, the enemy were more successful; for they surprised and captured the Spanish general Renovales, with six of his officers, at Carvajales de Zamora; while general Foy, after a siege of eighteen days, took Castro de Urdiales, from which Cafarelli had been repulsed. As an example of the cruel manner in which the cities of Spain were treated by their invaders, the following description of this siege is extracted from the work of one of our greatest writers:—'The governor, Don Pedro Pablo Alvares, discharged his duty to the utmost; and the Lyra, Royalist, and Sparrow sloops of war, with the Alpheia schooner, under captain Bloye, assisted in the defence. Foy brought all the

force that he could collect against it, and proceeded, as if he hoped to strike the province as well as the garrison with terror; for he offered no terms, and seemed determined to take the place by storm, let it cost what it would. When he had made a breach wide enough to admit twenty men abreast, he turned his guns on the town and castle, and threw shells incessantly at the bridge that connected the castle with the landing-place; hoping thus to cut off the retreat of the garrison, which at the commencement of the siege consisted of 1200 men: at noon, the enemy entered in great numbers through the breach, and by escalade in various parts: the garrison, when they could no longer defend the town, retreated into the castle: the ships' boats were in readiness to receive them, and they were embarked by companies, under a tremendous fire of musketry; two companies remaining to defend the castle till the last gun was thrown into the sea: every soldier was brought off, and many of the inhabitants, and landed at Bermeo on the following day: the town was burnt. Foy indeed acted in the spirit of his Portuguese campaign: as he had offered no terms, he showed no mercy; but when the town was entered, put the defenders to the bayonet without distinction: it had been well if the wickedness of the enemy had ended there; but in one of their unsuccessful attacks many of their men had been pushed down a ravine by their fellows, while pressing forward to the charge, the bridge by which they expected to cross having been destroyed by the English; and because the inhabitants had not informed them of the destruction of this bridge, they butchered men and women, sparing none, and inflicting on them cruelties, which nothing but a devilish nature could devise.' ¹⁴

Few attempts were made on the enemy's part to annoy the allied army during the winter and spring; though great activity was shown in plundering the inhabitants; this kind of war being carried on in so shameless a manner, that the king, it is said, was obliged to call one of his generals to account. The plan adopted by Joseph's council at Madrid, for the ensuing campaign, was to take the Douro as a line of defence, contrary to the opinion of Clausel, who thought that they had committed an error, in not concentrating their forces more on the Ebro: accordingly, works were thrown up on the right bank of that deep and rapid river, at every assailable point. Marshal

¹⁴ Southey's History of the Peninsular War, vol. iii.

Soult had been called away in March; and the veterans which he carried with him to the German campaign were but ill exchanged for new conscripts, sent to gain experience in the peninsular warfare; neither was the loss of that great general himself compensated by the abilities of marshal Jourdan, who acted as major-general to the king. In the mean time, the intrusive monarch left his capital, to which he was never to return, and removed his head-quarters to Valladolid. On the eleventh of April, general Hugo, who had been left in command at Madrid, issued orders for the troops to follow; when the most precious articles in the cabinet of natural history were sent off, and whatever else could be conveniently moved from the public establishments, whilst all arrears of contributions were exacted with the utmost rigor: it is said, that beasts enough were not left in the capital for the use of the scavengers; so that the inhabitants were ordered to collect the sweepings of the streets into the squares, and there burn what used to be carried into the country for manure.¹⁵ We must now take a brief view of proceedings on the eastern coast of Spain.

In the November of the preceding year, general Sir William Clinton arrived at Alicante to supersede general Maitland, whose health compelled him to retire; and notwithstanding the ill-timed and ill-founded jealousy of the Spaniards, he succeeded in obtaining possession of the castle, and garrisoning it with British troops. In December, a reinforcement of 4000 men was sent from Sicily under general James Campbell, who took the command till lord William Bentinck should arrive from Palermo: that diplomatic general however was detained so long at the Sicilian capital, by the necessity of removing the infamous queen from the scene of her intrigues, and by the fruitless attempt to establish a representative constitution, before any improvement had been effected in the people, that no end could be seen to this delay; and lieutenant-general Sir John Murray was sent from England, to command the allied force in that part of Spain: this general however was unfortunately not a match for Suchet, one of the most active and enterprising of Buonaparte's generals; though the first action in which they engaged, at Castella, on the thirteenth of April, turned out in favor of the British, chiefly through the splendid

¹⁵ Southey, vol. iii. p. 607.

exertions of colonel Adam:¹⁶ but the commander in chief neglected to follow up his success; and from that moment, Victory, offended, as it were, at the rejection of her advances, deserted his banners: operations however were still carried on; and even the retention of a position in the country, with the consequent occupation of Suchet's troops, favored the advance of lord Wellington's army. To prevent the necessity of recurring to the future movements of this motley force, which was designated in ridicule at head-quarters by the name of 'Noah's ark,' it may be advisable to anticipate its operations. On the thirty-first of May, Sir John Murray, leaving a garrison at Alicante, embarked the rest of his army on board the English fleet, which was cruising off that station; and on the third of June invested Tarragona: having possessed himself of Fort St. Philippa, on the Col de Balguer, which blocks the direct road to Tortosa, he advanced his batteries against the place; when Suchet, who had recently been created duke of Albufera, marched from Valencia with a large force to its relief: without waiting however for any certain tidings of the enemy's approach, or information of his actual strength, Sir John determined to avoid the conflict by a timely retreat: in the utmost hurry therefore he embarked his troops, and left his cannon in the batteries, though admiral Holloway counselled him to remain till night, and engaged, with the assistance of his ships and marines, to carry them safely off. Sir John Murray's conduct was subjected to much censure and ridicule by public opinion; but, when investigated before a military tribunal in England, was attributed solely to an error of judgment: his command however was now given to lord William Bentinck, who also failed before Tarragona, though without any loss of national honor. When the victorious advance of lord Wellington rendered a concentration of the French armies necessary on the frontier, Suchet abandoned the place, after blowing up its walls, and retired toward the Pyrenees, though not without some sharp actions with the Spanish forces in Catalonia.

On the sixteenth of May, lord Wellington put his grand army in motion; the British force under his command amounting to 48,000 effective men, the Portuguese to about 28,000, and the Gallician to 18,000: the enemy were not inferior in number; and could rely more confidently on the whole of

¹⁶ Now Sir Frederick Adam, and late governor of the Ionian Islands.

their troops ; but the change in the emperor's fortunes and their own had been such, that they looked only to a defensive campaign, and relied on their strong position along the Douro. The British right, under Sir Rowland Hill, marched by the route of Alba de Tormes on Salamanca ; the centre, under lord Wellington in person, took the more direct road to that city ; while the left, under Sir Thomas Graham, crossed the Lamego by boats, prepared for that purpose. In this advance of the British, they were enabled to trace the line of their retreat last year, by the skeletons of the poor animals which had been worked to death in that dreadful service. A division of infantry under general Villatte had been left in Salamanca, with a corps of artillery and three squadrons of horse : on these the British came so rapidly, that they had scarcely time to effect a retreat, which would hardly have been successful, had not the British cavalry been fatigued by a long march : they were however pursued vigorously by the horse-artillery, and an attack was made on them at Aldea Lengua, where they gave proofs of great intrepidity ; throwing themselves into hollow squares, and repelling every charge : the pursuit ended at Aldea Rubia, where the troops were recalled, leaving about fourscore of the enemy slain at that place, and carrying off 200 prisoners, with Villatte's coach, as well as a quantity of ammunition and stores.

On the twenty-ninth, lord Wellington left Salamanca, and reached Miranda de Duero ; the enemy having destroyed all the bridges on the river except that at Zamora. ' Opposite Miranda,' says Mr. Southey, ' there is a ferry, where the deep and rapid stream is from eighty to one hundred yards wide, and the rocks on either side about 500 feet in height : when it is so swollen that the ferry is impracticable, the only way by which travellers can cross, is after the old Peruvian manner, in a sort of hammock or cradle, fastened to a rope, which is secured on two projecting points of rock, about thirty feet above the ordinary level of the water.' Here lord Wellington crossed, and next day joined Graham's corps at Carvajales on the Ezla, which river the troops began to ford on the thirty-first : in this operation several valuable lives were lost ; for the ford was chin-deep ; and the infantry being ordered to hold by the stirrups of the cavalry, the horses became restive ; so that many lost their footing, and were rolled down by the force of the current : after this accident, a pontoon bridge, which should have been thought of before, was thrown over the current.

The French army, now comprehending the plan of lord Wel-

lington, and menaced by his advancing columns, hastily destroyed the bridge of Zamora, and evacuated that city, as well as Toro: near to this latter place, the hussar brigade, under colonel Grant, came up with the enemy's rear-guard of cavalry, which retired rapidly to the village of Morales, behind which they formed: yielding however to the impetuosity of the British, they retired to a small bridge across a marshy bottom; where, being supported by some guns belonging to their infantry, they stood a charge, were worsted in it, but contrived to pass the bridge; when captain Lloyd, of the tenth hussars, hastily following with a small number of his men, was taken prisoner: but the French lost, in these affairs, a large number of killed, wounded, and captives; and their sixteenth regiment was almost annihilated. Captain Lloyd, it is said, was ill-treated by his captors, who beat and rifled him; but left him in their retreat. 'Though the fighting,' says Mr. Southey, 'was almost in the street of Morales, the Spaniards were now so accustomed to sights of war, that within ten minutes after the firing had ceased, the women were spinning at their doors, and the little children at play, as if nothing had happened.' Lord Wellington halted at Toro, that the light troops, under Hill, might cross the Douro by its bridge, that his rear might come up, and that the Gallician forces might join his left wing: when he advanced again on the third of June, the French, whose force was distributed between Valladolid, Tordesillas, and Medina, retired before him, made a show of concentration behind the Pisergua, but again withdrew behind the Carrion. The allied army crossed that river on the seventh; and on the twelfth, lord Wellington found it necessary to halt and refresh his troops after their long and fatiguing marches. Joseph was now falling back on Burgos, the castle of which place had been greatly strengthened: a slight show of opposition was made on the heights of Hormaza; but the enemy soon retreated on the city, after suffering a considerable loss from the horse-artillery, and leaving one gun, with some prisoners, in the hands of their opponents: this was in the evening; and the allies fully expected that a battle would take place next morning; but Joseph had not yet gathered sufficient resolution to stop his pursuers: in the night therefore the French retreated, from a strong position near the suburbs, into the city itself; and then hurrying also from its walls, blew up the castle, about an hour after the king had left it: apparently aware that their ascendancy in the country was gone, they wished to bring on the wretched inhabitants a calamity that should prevent any joy at their deli-

verance; but their malignant intentions were in a great measure frustrated by a defect in their arrangements, while part of the evil fell on the heads of its contrivers. 'Many of their men,' says the historian, 'who were lingering to plunder, perished as they were loading their horses with booty in the streets and squares, and three or four hundred were blown up in the fort. Above 1000 shells had been placed in the mines; the explosion was distinctly heard at the distance of fifty miles; and the pavement of the cathedral was covered with the dust into which its windows had been shivered by the shock. The town escaped destruction, owing to the failure of so many of the mines; but the castle was destroyed, gates, beams, masses of masonry, guns, carriages, and arms lying in one heap of ruins: some of the mines had laid open the breaches, and exposed the remains of those who had fallen during the siege.'¹⁷

Joseph now continued his retreat toward Vittoria, his object at this period being to prevent lord Wellington from crossing the Ebro; to effect which, he hastily passed that river, and took up a strong position on its left bank; strengthening at the same time the castle of Pancorbo, to check the advance of the allies along the great road through Berbiesca to Miranda: lord Wellington however had anticipated this design; and instead of following the enemy in that direction, suddenly changed his route, and moved his left wing higher up the river, over a rough country, that might easily have been defended by a small force. The rapid movement of this corps, which passed the Ebro on the fourteenth, so disconcerted Joseph's plans, that he retired rapidly toward Vittoria, and left the passage of the river free for the allies: his army however was so quickly pursued, that it soon became evident both to himself and Jourdan, that a battle must take place: indeed, defeat itself could hardly be more disastrous than a retreat into France: so, being convinced that decision was necessary, they took up their position in front of Vittoria; their left resting on some heights terminating at the Puebla de Arlanza, with a reserve in its rear; their centre extended along a strong range of heights on the left bank of the Zadorra, and resting to the right on a circular hill covered with infantry, and defended with several brigades of artillery; while their right was placed in advance of the river, above the village of Abecheneo, to defend the passage. This position, eight miles in extent, covered the three great roads, which converge on Vittoria from Bilboa, Logroño, and Madrid; and

¹⁷ Southey, vol. iii. p. 623.

also crossed the main road to Bayonne : within sight of it was fought the battle of Najara ; where, as Mr. Southey observes, ‘ Edward the Black Prince, acting as the ally of a bad man, defeated the best troops of France under their most distinguished leader Bertram du Guesclin, who was come in support of a worse : ’ lord Wellington and Jourdan were not quite in parallel circumstances ; for indubitably his lordship was an ally of the worse man, though he fought in the better cause. On the nineteenth, the French rear-guard, strongly posted on some heights near Pobes, was driven back on the main body by the British light and fourth divisions ; and, on the twentieth, lord Wellington collected his divisions, and made his dispositions for battle. The British centre was occupied by the third, fourth, seventh, and light divisions, in two lines ; the right, where Sir Rowland Hill commanded, by the second, by a Portuguese division, and a Spanish corps ; the left, under Sir Thomas Graham, by the first and fifth divisions, Pack and Bradford’s brigades of infantry, and a Spanish division under Longa, with Bock and Anson’s brigades of cavalry. By day-break on the twenty-first, the lines were formed ; and the men were burning with impatience to attack a foe, whose continual flight had begun to inspire them with contempt.

The Spaniards, under Morillo, began the action by gallantly attacking the heights of Arlanzon, on the left of the French position ; but the enemy stood firm, making great exertions to maintain their ground ; though they found that they had not occupied it with sufficient strength, and were obliged to detach forces from their centre : Sir Rowland Hill therefore, finding it necessary to send considerable reinforcements also on his side, the contest became very severe and the losses considerable : at length, the enemy were driven from the heights at the point of the bayonet ; and under cover of this ground, Sir Rowland crossed the Zadorra at Puebla, passed a difficult defile about two miles long, and attacked with success the village of Sabijana, which covered the left of the French lines. Though they made repeated attempts, with large reinforcements from the centre, to recover this village, all were in vain.

The difficult nature of the country necessarily delayed the communication between different columns ; so that, during this struggle on the right, the centre was inactive : Picton therefore became impatient, and inquired of several aides-de-camp whether they brought any orders ; for he had the utmost difficulty in restraining the ardor of his men. As the day wore

on, it is said, he became furious,¹⁸ asking if lord Wellington had forgotten them : the men also were becoming very discontented ; when an aide-de-camp came riding up at speed ; and, having checked his horse, demanded of the general if he had seen lord Dalhousie. ‘No, sir,’ was the reply : ‘but have you any orders for me?’—‘None at all,’ replied the aide-de-camp. ‘Then, pray, sir,’ continued the irritated general, ‘what orders do you bring?’—‘Why, that as soon as lord Dalhousie, with the seventh division, shall commence an attack on that bridge to the left, the fourth and sixth are to support him.’ Picton could not understand the idea of any other division fighting in his front ; so, drawing himself up to the full height, he said to the astonished officer, ‘You may tell lord Wellington from me, sir, that the third division, under my command, shall, in less than ten minutes, attack that bridge and carry it, when the fourth and sixth may support us if they choose.’¹⁹ Picton knew his men when he made this boast : the fighting division under his command had never yet been repulsed ; so, turning to them with the bland expressions,—‘Come on, ye rascals ; come on, ye fighting villains ;’—he put himself at their head.

As the division advanced, it was met by a heavy fire of artillery ; but it moved steadily on, till the leading columns rushed over the bridge, and formed in open columns ; when they moved by their left, so as to attack the intire centre of the enemy : still advancing in the same order, they pressed up the heights, where they quickly deployed into line ; and the enemy, panic-struck, scarcely awaited the attack. Picton had now gained the heights ; but the divisions on his right had not advanced sufficiently to cover his flank, and he kept back his men ; but the seventh, and part of the light division, with the fourth under Cole, soon arrived to cover his advance. During this time, the enemy made several strenuous efforts to dislodge him, bringing more than forty pieces of cannon to bear on his position ; while dense masses of infantry pushed forward on all parts of his line, in spite of the destruction caused in their ranks by its incessant fire. At length, Picton gave the word, ‘to charge ;’ and the result was certain : nothing could resist men so resolute, and so led : they bore down all opposition, spreading consternation and death through all the opposing ranks : as the other two divisions

¹⁸ Life of Picton, vol. ii. p. 195.

¹⁹ Ibid. p. 196.

ascended the heights, each took up its position in the line laid down; the third still keeping the enemy's centre in its front: and now the whole advanced in line against the French, who had taken up fresh ground in the rear of the heights. The ardor of the third again brought them first into contact with the enemy: the uneven and broken ground in front for a time rendered their progress difficult; but after exposure to an irritating fire, they quickly ran to the charge; and the flight of their adversaries was so sudden, that they left twenty-eight pieces of artillery behind them.

The seventh division met with a severe check at the village of Gomecha, where an adjoining wood was filled with French troops; but a part of the light division came to its support, while Picton still pressed on the enemy's centre, till they abandoned their ground, and fell back on Vittoria. When Hill was made acquainted with this success, he renewed his efforts against their left wing; and, after some spirited fighting, succeeded in forcing their position, and driving them back in disorder.

The British left, under Graham, had not been so intirely successful: coming up, at the onset, with the right of the French army, posted in two villages, and on some commanding heights between them, they instantly attacked it; and after a determined resistance and much slaughter, drove it from the position. In the rear of these villages were two bridges over the Zadorra; and from thence it was but a short distance to Vittoria: so that, had the left wing been successful in effecting a passage here, the French army probably must have surrendered; since the retreat to Bayonne was already cut off by Longa's Spanish division: but the importance of this post was known to marshal Jourdan, and some of the choicest troops were drawn from the centre to defend it; so that Sir T. Graham was obliged to await the farther successes of the right and centre. The battle now presented a grand spectacle, as the three central divisions moved forward in line, and the enemy retreated gradually before them, fighting: this retrograde movement, however, became more rapid after every charge of the British, until a stand was made about a mile from the city: one hundred pieces of artillery then opened with destructive effect on the pursuers; and it might have been supposed that the day was still to be won: but the moral force of the two armies was totally dissimilar: the French were fighting on retreat, without confidence in their leaders; the allies were flushed with conquest, and never thought of defeat when led by Wellington. Night was now approaching,

and a decisive blow was desirable: the British divisions paused for a few moments to close up their ranks, and then advanced in serried line against an incessant storm of shot; but the enemy could not stand the shock, and the day was won. 'Three times,' it is said on high authority, 'during this battle, orders were sent by lord Wellington for certain manœuvres to be performed by the third division, which in each instance Picton had commenced on his own judgment and responsibility.'²⁰

A complete rout now ensued, and an organised army became a wild and affrighted mob. The allies pressed hard on their rear; and Joseph himself with difficulty escaped out of the city, by quitting his carriage, and mounting a horse: the tenth hussars however were compensated by a rich booty in his calash, consisting of all the portable valuables of his regalia. When the retreat was ordered, it proved that the movement of carriages on the Pampeluna road was impossible from the interposition of marshy ground; and the confusion became indescribable: the whole of the French artillery of reserve, ammunition, and baggage waggons, the military chest, the equipages and treasure of the king, were taken. 'The spoils,' says Southey, 'resembled those of an oriental, rather than of a European army; for the intruder, who, in his miserable situation, had abandoned himself to every kind of sensuality, had with him all his luxuries. His plunder, his wardrobe, his sideboard, his larder, and his cellar, fell into the hands of the conquerors: the French officers had followed his example; and thus the finest wines and choicest delicacies were found in profusion. The wives and mistresses of these men had collected together in one house, where they were safe, and were sent with a flag of truce to Pampeluna. Poodles, parrots, and monkeys were among the prisoners.' Part of the victorious army, according to the same authority, assumed the appearance of a masquerade, Portuguese boys figuring in the dress-coats of French generals; while those who happened to draw a woman's wardrobe in the lottery, covered themselves with silks, satins, and embroidered muslins. Some of the more fortunate soldiers got possession of the military chest, and loaded themselves with money. 'Let them have it,' said lord Wellington, when informed of the occurrence; 'they deserve all they can find, were it ten times as much.' Among the other trophies of this field, was the baton of marshal Jourdan, taken by the

²⁰ Life of Picton, vol. ii. p. 203.

eighty-ninth regiment; and lord Wellington sent it with his despatches to the prince regent: a very handsome letter was returned by his royal highness, accompanied with a baton of an English field-marshal. 'The British army,' said the writer, 'will hail it with enthusiasm; while the whole universe will acknowledge those valorous efforts which have so imperiously called for it.' This splendid victory excited throughout England the most enthusiastic joy: it was celebrated by general illuminations, and a grand national festival in Vauxhall gardens, where a multitude of the most distinguished characters in the empire, foreign ambassadors, and others, partook of a splendid dinner; and in the evening the place was crowded with ladies introduced by the stewards. In the mean time, the victorious Wellington was fighting his way to the French frontier.

General Clausel, with about 14,000 men, had commenced his march to support Joseph; but now, changing his direction, he turned toward Logroño; and being pursued, retired on Saragossa, with the guerilla forces of Mina and Sanchez hanging on his rear. As for Joseph, he hardly looked back before he had reached the walls of Pampeluna: but the garrison would not admit his flying soldiers; who, attempting to force their army over its walls, were driven off by the fire of their own countrymen: they continued their flight therefore to the fastnesses of the Pyrenees, where the ex-king collected the remains of his shattered army: provisions however were thrown into Pampeluna, which fortress was expected by its great strength to check the advance of the allies: its blockade was committed to an army of 10,000 Spaniards under the conde de Bisbal; while Sir Thomas Graham was directed to invest the fortress of St. Sebastian with the first and fifth divisions. But another struggle was about to be made by Napoleon to retrieve his declining fortunes.

The disastrous intelligence of the French defeat at Vittoria fell on him, in his Saxon campaign, like a thunderbolt; for he saw, that while he was fighting drawn battles beyond the Rhine, Wellington was marching on to force the Pyrenees: retreat however in the presence of the Russian and Prussian armies was ruin: he attempted therefore to negotiate; while he sent his best general, the duke of Dalmatia, to take the command in Spain, with supreme power, as lieutenant of the emperor. Soult arrived at Bayonne on the twelfth of July, and superseded both Jourdan and Joseph: the army was now little more than a skeleton: still this able and active general

contrived by great exertions to concentrate the scattered forces ; who, feeling confidence in such a commander, freely rallied round his standard : artillery was forwarded with incredible celerity toward the frontier ; and within a month from the signal defeat at Vittoria, the French army amounted to above 80,000 men. A change was now about to take place in the character of the contest ; the allies having to defend a series of mountain defiles, where cavalry could not act, and in positions to which artillery could not be brought ; and this, against troops, whose lightness, activity, and general habits peculiarly fitted them for such a species of warfare.

Soult, having put Bayonne into a state of defence, and divided his army into three corps, under generals Reille, D'Erlon, and Clausel, resumed the offensive on the twenty-fourth of July ; when he recrossed the frontier, and directed his movements to relieve St. Sebastian and Pampeluna. To meet his advance, the allied army was placed in a position occupying all the Pyrenean defiles between those two fortresses ; and the famous pass of Roncesvalles was again held by Spanish soldiers under Morillo, supported by a brigade of the second British division under Byng. It was this pass which Soult endeavored to force on the twenty-fifth, at the head of 35,000 men, while Sir Rowland Hill was severely pressed at that of Maya by superior forces under Drouet ; and at the same time, a large body of the enemy manœuvred on Byng's left, along the ridge of Arola, occupied by the fourth division, under Cole. The situation of the allies was at this moment very critical ; for had one of these passes been gained, the security of their position would have been lost ; and Soult would have rushed with his legions into the very heart of Spain : lord Wellington was absent at St. Sebastian, not expecting this sudden attack ; and the pressure was so great on the British divisions, that all were obliged to give way, and seek for more secure positions ; when Picton put his reserve in motion, and marched to the support of Cole's fourth division, taking the command as senior officer, and making dispositions to receive the enemy. By daybreak on the twenty-sixth, Soult renewed the attack ; when, his superior numbers rendering resistance hopeless, Picton fell back, and took a strong position on the heights of Zubiri, counteracting every attempt of the advancing enemy to throw his troops into confusion. But though checked for a time, Soult was able to force his adversary back on the villages of Huerta and Villalba, when a strong position between the rivers Arga and

Lanz would enable him to cover the blockade of Pampeluna : this movement took place in the night of the twenty-sixth ; and just as dispositions had been made to receive the French attack, lord Wellington arrived. Picton immediately acquainted him with his proceedings and arrangements, with which the British field-marshal expressed his intire approbation ; nor did he consider it necessary to make the least alteration,¹ as he had already, in his journey from the left, issued orders for other corps to move up to the point of conflict. Early on the twenty-eighth, the sixth division under Pack arrived, and had scarcely taken a situation on some heights to the left of the fourth, when a fierce assault on this very point was made by a large force of the enemy, who were received with so destructive a fire in front and flank, that they retired ; and the assault was then directed against a height occupied by the left of the fourth division, which was defended by a Portuguese regiment of Caçadores : the impetuosity of the French gained them possession of the hill ; but a spirited charge by general Ross's brigade made it a brief tenure.

The firing then opened along the whole line, while the French advanced with loud cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* and an apparent determination to conquer ; but they were young conscripts, unequal to a conflict with Wellington's veterans, who had driven the old soldiers of the empire out of the peninsula : these now, in their pride of strength and confidence, waited until the French were within a few yards of their bayonets : a deadly volley was then poured into the advancing column ; a charge followed : the enemy were driven headlong down the heights, leaving the ground strewn with their dead and dying.

Next day the allies were reinforced by the seventh division, under lord Dalhousie, which secured the connexion of their left with Sir Rowland Hill ; when Soult moved his main body by its right, so as to unite his forces with those of Drouet ; endeavoring to mask his intentions by keeping a strong force in front of lord Wellington's centre. His object was to open the communication between Tolosa and Pampeluna ; which would enable him to attack the left of the allies, and, if successful, to relieve St. Sebastian, or oblige the British general to fight on ground of Soult's selection : but lord Wellington, though he now had to contend with a master in the art of war, was not overmatched : at once penetrating the designs of his

¹ Life of Picton, vol. ii. p. 221.

antagonist, and conceiving the means of defeating them, he resolved to dislodge him from his position in front; to effect which, Picton was directed to cross the ridge which the French troops had abandoned, and to turn their left flank by the Roncesvalles road; while lord Dalhousie, with the seventh division, should scale a mountain opposite the left of the fourth division, and turn their right. Both these movements were eminently successful: the centre of the allied force then pushed forward in a firm, irresistible phalanx; and the enemy abandoned a position, which lord Wellington described 'as one of the strongest and most difficult of access that he had ever seen occupied by troops.'

Soult now commenced a retreat, closely followed by his adversaries; but conducting it in a manner corresponding with his great character for military talent. Extricating his army by the pass of Donna Maria, he there attempted to check the allies; but lord Dalhousie and Hill, ascending the mountains on each side, compelled him to continue his retreat hastily across the Bidassoa: he did not, however, pass that river without a severe contest and great loss: nor was it among the least galling circumstances of this retreat, that the Spanish troops several times charged his columns with the bayonet, broke them, and drove them precipitately across the stream: the French, like the soldiers of Pyrrhus, had at length taught their once-despised foes to conquer them.

The battle of Vittoria delivered the province of Valencia, as that of Salamanca had freed Andalusia, from the French yoke. Suchet, leaving 1200 men and stores for twelve months in Murviedro, as well as garrisons in Peniscola and other fortresses, retired on Arragon, hoping to effect a junction with Clausel, who was near Saragossa with 14,000 men: this was what lord Wellington apprehended; and this prevented him from laying siege instantly to Pampeluna. Clausel, however, without informing Suchet of his movements, retired into France, by way of Jaca; from a desire, as the Spaniards gave out, of securing the riches which he had amassed. Saragossa then fell to the Spanish chiefs who assembled round its walls; and Suchet, who was advancing to its relief, drew off as many garrisons as he could; and, after a vain attempt to maintain the line of the Lower Ebro, determined to move on Tarragona.

When Arragon was thus delivered from the foe, the blockade of Pampeluna could be safely left to the Spaniards, while Graham carried 10,000 troops to the siege of St. Sebastian. Few places present a more formidable appearance than this:

the only land approach is over a low sandy isthmus, occupied by one front of fortification; and this narrow road is commanded by the castle: but on the left flank there are considerable sand hills, about 600 or 700 yards distant, which enfilade and take in reverse the front defences: those which cross the isthmus are a double line, with the usual counterscarp, covered way, and glacis; but those which run lengthways consist only of a single line, the water in front being thought to render them inaccessible. The northern line is quite exposed to the sand hills; and the Urumea, which washes the town on that side, is fordable at low water; the tide receding so much, that a large space is left dry, over which troops can march to the very foot of the wall: yet that wall had been left uncovered, ever since marshal Berwick had effected a breach there in 1719, by which he took the city.² Into this place Jourdan had thrown about 4000 men after the battle of Vittoria; and every exertion which art and courage could make was made by this intrepid garrison. The first operation of the besiegers was the attack of a strong advanced post, in the convent of St. Bartolomé; but after 2500 shot and 450 shells had been fired, it was found necessary to dislodge the enemy with the bayonet; and the victorious party, pursuing the flying garrison to the foot of the glacis, suffered severely on its return. A fire from the town was kept up against this post for twenty-four hours; and the dead which strewed the intermediate ground lay there, unburied, during the siege; so jealous was each party of an approach to their works: during the night, two batteries were erected to take the defences of the city in reverse; a difficult work in loose sand, where the fire of the enemy was so sharp and precise, that four sentinels were killed successively through one loop-hole. The only eminence from whence artillery could be brought to bear directly on the town, though still about 100 feet below it, was above the convent, and almost adjoining its walls: here a battery was erected; the covered way to it passed through the convent, and the battery itself was constructed in a burial-ground: a more ghastly circumstance can seldom have occurred in war; for coffins and corpses in all stages of decay were exposed, when the soil was thrown up against the fire from the town, and were used indeed in the defences: when a shell burst there, it brought down the living and the dead together. As one of our officers³ was giving his orders, a shot

² Southey's *Peninsular War*, vol. iii. p. 666.

³ The officer to whom this accident occurred, and who com-

struck the edge of the trenches above him, and two coffins slipped down on him with the sand: the coffins broke in their fall; the bodies rolled with him to some distance; and when he recovered, he saw that they had been women of some rank; for they were richly attired in black velvet, and their long hair hung about their shoulders and livid faces. The soldiers, in the scarcity of firewood, being nothing nice, broke up coffins for fuel to dress their food, leaving the bodies exposed; and, till the hot sun had dried up these poor insulted remains of humanity, the stench was as dreadful as the sight.

On the twentieth of July the batteries were opened; a redoubt was abandoned by the enemy; and next day a summons was sent, but not received: meantime, in cutting a parallel across the isthmus, the men came to a subterranean channel, four feet high and three wide, in which was a pipe to carry water to the city. Lieutenant Reid, of the engineers, having ventured to explore it, found it closed, at the end of 230 yards, by a door in the counterscarp; and there a mine was securely laid. The service of the breaching battery was dreadfully severe, but greatly assisted by the heroic efforts of the British seamen: by noon, on the twenty-second, a breach 600 feet long appeared practicable, but delay unfortunately took place; and it was thought advisable to form a second and a third, which were effected before the night of the twenty-third: at the same time, many parts of the town were discovered in flames; and the frequent crash of houses was mixed with the roar of artillery. Still great delay and confusion occurred: orders were given and countermanded; arrangements were not made known to a sufficient number of officers; and the attack was ordered at a wrong time: the French, also, being prepared for the event, brought every gun looking in the direction of the attack to bear on it; and 'from all around the breach, the assailants were flanked and enfiladed with a destructive fire of grape and musketry: blazing planks and beams were thrown transversely across the walls and the breach; while stones, shot, shells, and hand-grenades were showered on the allies with dreadful effect.'⁴ At this time, the mine in the aqueduct being sprung, brought down such a length of the counterscarp

communicated these details to Mr. Southey, is known to the author as a clergyman; and is now exerting himself, like many other of our peninsular heroes, as zealously in his clerical, as he did formerly in his military duties.

⁴ Southey, vol. iii. p. 674.

and glacis, that the enemy abandoned the works in affright: but when a brave corps of Portuguese rushed on to take advantage of this occurrence, no scaling ladders were to be found; and nearly the whole party were miserably slain, before the order for recalling them arrived. Meanwhile, lieutenant Jones, of the engineers, with a small party of the first royals, gained the top of the great breach; and troops were rushing after them, when the enemy sprung a mine at one place, and drew the supports from a false bridge at another; blowing up some of the assailants, and precipitating others on spikes that were fixed below: the rest at the foot of the breach were now panic-struck, and ran back; the destination of another column, coming up in the rear to support them, was altered; and the sun, when he arose, disclosed a loss of 45 officers, and above 800 men, sacrificed to the inexperience of the brave Graham in conducting sieges. About noon, on the same day, lord Wellington made his appearance, with a determination to complete the second breach, and renew the attack; but the ammunition was running low; and Soult's movements in the Pyrenees being that very night reported to him, his attention was recalled to that quarter; accordingly, he withdrew the guns from the batteries, and converted the siege into a blockade: so improperly, however, was this operation conducted, that the vigilant enemy made a sortie; and, capturing near 300 of the allies in the trenches, carried them prisoners into the town: but Soult's defeat was now known, and Graham only awaited the arrival of fresh artillery and stores from England, to renew the siege. These, with considerable reinforcements for the army, were landed at Passages on the eighteenth; 'for now,' as Mr. Southey observes, 'the British government had caught the spirit of its victorious general, and was no longer limited by parsimonious impolicy.'

The garrison, however, had spent their time well within the place; and every thing, which art and ingenuity could devise for its defence, was effected. The siege recommenced on the twenty-fourth of August, and a detachment of British sailors was employed in erecting mortar batteries against the castle: they had a double allowance of grog, employing a fiddler at their own cost to cheer the hours of labor; and at every shell which fell within the fortress, three huzzas were given, with a grand flourish of the violin.

The breaching batteries opened on the twenty-sixth: next night, a sortie was attempted, but without success; and on that of the twenty-ninth, our men made a false attack, with the hope

of inducing the enemy to spring their mines; but they were too wary. Preparations now commenced for an assault, and men were invited to volunteer; 'such,' it was said, 'as knew how to show other troops the way to mount a breach.' When this was communicated to the fourth division, which was to furnish 400 men, the whole division moved forward: the conduct of the attack was confided to Sir James Leith, who had just arrived from England; and as the breaches appeared practicable, the assault was ordered for eleven o'clock on the thirty-first, the time of low water; when Sir James, accompanied by Sir Richard Fletcher, chief engineer, took his station on the open beach, about thirty yards before the *débouches* from the trenches, in order to set an example to his men, and to direct their movements. The garrison were, as before, on the alert; and the forlorn hope, consisting of an officer and thirty men, fell to a man: the front of the columns which followed were cut off as by one shot; and the breach, when the assailants reached it, was covered with their dead bodies: as they ascended, such a concentrated fire was kept up, as the most experienced officer had never witnessed; and the living, dead, and dying rolled down the ruins as fast as they mounted toward the summit: in fact, nothing could be more fallacious than the external appearance of the breach, which was quite impracticable; and no man could outlive the attempt to pass it. Sir James Leith was in the act of sending directions for removing the dead and dying from the *débouches*, which were so choked up as to prevent the passage of the troops, when a plunging shot struck that gallant officer in its rebound, and laid him senseless; but he recovered his breath and recollection; and, refusing to quit the place, continued to give his orders. Sir Thomas Graham, in the mean time, accepted the offer of general Bradford's Portuguese brigade to ford the river, and assist in the assault; when a battalion under major Snodgrass, and a detachment under colonel M'Bean, crossed under a deadly fire, and took part in what the commander began to consider a desperate affair; and desperate it must have been, had not colonel Dickson, whose resources were inexhaustible, proposed to turn his artillery against the breach, and fire over the heads of its assailants: the proposal was instantly accepted, and executed with the utmost precision. Our own troops were astonished at hearing the roar of cannon from behind them; but they saw with still greater surprise the enemy swept from the curtain, and the breach becoming more and more practicable: the first discharge brought down a few

in our own ranks ; but the second made the intent intelligible, and a grand effort was then ordered to gain the high ridge at all hazards.

At this time a shell burst near to Sir James Leith, and broke his left arm in two places : yet he continued to issue his orders till he fainted from loss of blood ; when major-general Hay succeeded to the command : very soon afterwards a musket-ball struck the gallant Fletcher in the spine of his neck, and avenged the disgraces of the French army on the executor of the lines of Torres Vedras. Nothing now could withstand the fury of the assailants : the breach was passed under the most appalling circumstances ; and, though the contest was still maintained from barricadoes in the streets, and houses turned into fortresses, the enemy were driven into the castle, their last place of refuge ; from which, however, they continued incessantly to fire, and roll down shells into the town. The closing scene must be given in the peninsular historian's own words :—

‘ About three in the afternoon, the day, which had been sultry, became unusually cold : the sky was overcast ; and between the blackness of the sky, the rain, and the smoke, it was as dark as a dusky evening ; but when darkness would, in its natural course, have closed, the town was in flames. A dreadful night of thunder, rain, and wind succeeded ; and it was made far more dreadful by man than by the elements : it is no easy task for officers, after the heat of an assault, to restrain successful troops, who are under no moral restraint ; and on this day so many officers had perished, that the men fancied themselves exempt from all control. They sacked the place, and gave way to such excesses ; that if the French could have suspected the state of drunkenness, to which men, so excellently brave in action, had reduced themselves, they might very probably have retaken part of the town, if not the whole. The loss of the assailants amounted to nearly 1600 British, and 800 Portuguese killed and wounded ; while 700 of the garrison were made prisoners.’

As soon as the town had been carried, preparations were made to reduce the castle : batteries were erected on the works ; such houses as had escaped the fire were prepared for musketry ; and on the eighth of September sixty pieces of ordnance opened against the enemy. On the third, some discussion had taken place about a surrender, but the terms were rejected : at length, when all the guns of the fortress were dismounted, and the defences utterly demolished, a white flag was displayed ; and on

the tenth, the garrison marched out of the ruins of the city as prisoners of war. The conduct and character of general Rey excited no pity for his misfortune; but colonel St. Onary, commandant of the place, who had displayed much kindness toward his prisoners, and the brave captain Sugeon, who, on the day of the first assault, descended into the breach to assist our wounded men, were honorably sent to France.

In the mean time, the contest still continued in Catalonia, where lord William Bentinck invested Tarragona; but his forces were inferior, both in numbers and quality, to those of Suchet, who raised the siege, but abandoned the place, after destroying the ramparts and artillery: he afterwards surprised the Anglo-Sicilian army at the pass of Ordal, and obliged it to retreat: at this time, the uneasy state of affairs in Sicily, and the ill success of the political changes there, rendered it necessary for lord William to repair thither: the command of the army, therefore, devolved on Sir William Clinton, who, with a very inadequate force, and under most discouraging circumstances, had not only to prevent Suchet from availing himself of his late success, to withdraw his garrisons from Valencia; but so to occupy the attention of that able commander, as to stop the succors which he might send to Soult. As soon as arrangements could be made for restoring the works at Tarragona, and supplying with provisions the Spaniards attached to his command, Sir William fixed his head-quarters at Villafranca.

The Spanish government, though they granted honors and rewards to lord Wellington, creating him duque de Vittoria, after the great victory which liberated the peninsula, still manifested a want of frank and generous conduct toward himself as well as his country. In direct breach of contract, they had superseded Castaños in his command, and made various other changes, contrary to the British general's wishes and representations, which, if the war had continued in the country, might have led to serious consequences: libels also were circulated, imputing the most sinister views to Great Britain, because some of its troops still remained in Cadiz and Carthagená; and the government took no care to counteract the injurious impression thus produced. Lord Wellington, having obtained the necessary orders from home, withdrew these troops as soon as their presence ceased to be requisite; and addressed, through his brother, a cutting remonstrance to the government which had allowed such calumnies to pass uncontradicted. A report, that he was himself about to assume the Spanish sceptre, and

which produced a vehement protest from the dukes of Ossuna, and Frias, the visconde de Gante, and other grandees, he treated with that silent contempt which it deserved.

A short period of inactivity followed Soult's retreat, lord Wellington not deeming it prudent to enter France, and leave the strong-holds of St. Sebastian and Pampeluna both occupied in his rear : while therefore the active measures just related were taken to reduce the former place, the blockade of the latter was still vigorously enforced : its surrender indeed appeared so certain and so near, that, on the seventh of October, the field-marshal determined to force the passage of the Bidassoa. Every precaution had been taken to prevent the enemy from noticing this movement ; and the allied force, crossing in three columns, was not observed, till several of the leading regiments were half over the river : a brisk fire was then opened on them ; the water was stained with their blood ; and all who fell there perished : but the light troops pushed rapidly on ; and, gaining the opposite bank, drove the enemy back, while the columns formed as they landed, and prepared to attack the French line ranged on the nearest hills : from these they were quickly driven ; when Soult concentrated his army behind a strongly fortified position on the Nivelle ; where he resolved to make another stand against the advance of his pursuers.

The point occupied by the right of the allied army enabled it at once to rush down into the plains of France at the first favorable moment : the left had scarcely been placed in a similar situation, when that moment arrived ; for on the first of November a despatch was received from the commander of the Spanish forces blockading Pampeluna, to announce the fall of that important place. Napoleon was now encircled by toils : while England swept the sea, the armies of Russia, Austria, and Prussia were on the frontiers of the Rhine ; and Wellington was preparing to push his victorious forces, like another Hannibal, over the Pyrenean boundaries : but before he effected this grand movement, the commander-in-chief issued a proclamation full of the most judicious and salutary instructions for the conduct of the army in the enemy's country ; a document, quite as honorable to him as any of his greatest victories. After reminding his troops, that their nations were at war with France, solely because her ruler would not allow them to be at peace ; he exhorted them not to forget, ' that the worst of the evils suffered by the enemy in their profligate invasion were occasioned by their own irregularities and cruelties, authorised and encou-

raged by their chiefs toward the unfortunate people : to avenge this conduct on the peaceable inhabitants of France would be unmanly, and unworthy of the nations to which the commander of the forces then addressed himself.'

To force the passage of the Nivelle, and the strongly intrenched posts on its bank, was the first step to be taken ; and about three o'clock in the morning of the tenth of November the allied army was put into motion : a bright full moon lighted the mountain paths ; the troops mustered in silence ; and each division, following its chief, moved down the different passes as silently as such a host could move. It was hoped that the enemy might be taken unawares ; but they were accustomed to fall into their ranks every morning at daybreak ; and the advancing troops were received with a brisk cannonade from the fortified redoubts in front. The divisions pressed on, almost in line ; and the advantage of this simultaneous movement was evident ; for the success of any one division, and its consequent advance, would threaten the rear of those fortified posts which still held out : in some instances, the defences were quickly deserted, while others were bravely defended ; but the whole conduct of the enemy appeared more like a last effort of despair, than the enthusiastic struggle of valorous and excited men. Their main body was stationed behind, and on the left of the village of Sarre ; but an attack of the third and seventh divisions drove them, with much loss, on the left of their centre ; while the light division attacked their right, and the fourth, with a Spanish reserve, forced them to abandon almost all their redoubts : the defenders of one of these, however, continued to resist too long ; so that the centre divisions of the allies actually closed on their rear, and the whole garrison of 600 men surrendered prisoners of war. The enemy now fell back in disorder, hastening to cross the river and defend its bridges : one of these however was gained by the third and seventh divisions, and the army halted for the night ; of which Soult took advantage to retreat on Bayonne ; but he left fifty pieces of cannon, 1500 prisoners, with a large quantity of ammunition and stores in the hands of his pursuers ; and carried off even his veteran troops dispirited by defeat. After the passage of the Nivelle had been thus forced, the weather became so adverse to military operations, that the allied army was placed in cantonments, with a line of defensive posts, to prevent any sudden incursion of the enemy ; but on the ninth of December, they again took the field ; and, having crossed the Nive with a very trifling loss, drove Soult into his intrenched camp, which had

been in preparation ever since the battle of Vittoria. This position gave him every facility for masking his operations, and concentrating his main force against any point in his adversary's line: on the morning of the eleventh therefore, when part of the British left wing were hewing wood to cook their rations, the French were observed cutting gaps in the different fences, for the passage of artillery; and almost instantaneously a furious attack commenced along the Bayonne road, where the piquets were driven in on their supports, and a hill in front of Barroulet became the scene of a sharp contest. The moment this attack commenced, there was a general shout, 'To arms!' and the soldiers that were cutting wood in front of Barroulet ran in haste to the rear to accoutre themselves: the French, observing this, imagined that their adversaries were struck with a panic, and advanced with loud cheers; but in a few minutes they found the whole left wing formed in perfect order, and were obliged to retreat before it. Soult then changed his plans, and with great secrecy prepared to attack the right wing and centre of his antagonist, thinking that he should take him unprepared; but lord Wellington had divined his intentions: advancing with an overwhelming force of 30,000 men, he directed them principally against the centre, where Sir Rowland Hill commanded: a severe contest was kept up for some time; and the enemy even succeeded in gaining one of the heights occupied by the allies: but Sir Rowland, perceiving at once that nearly all the opposing columns were concentrated in order to attack his centre, ordered up the troops on each flank to support it: these drove the enemy from their momentary conquest; the battle became general; and, toward evening, Soult was obliged to retire into his intrenchments with great loss, and with the mortifying conviction, that his troops could not contend with the allies; for, as it has been justly observed, 'he had repeatedly attacked with an army, and been repulsed by a division.' Nothing indeed could exceed his own skill, activity, and perseverance during the whole of this campaign; which fully merited the praise bestowed on it by the great master of the art of war, in his exile at St. Helena; but he had met with the true antagonists, who were to teach France and her marshals the frail tenure of human fame. The campaign of 1813 may be said now to have terminated; for Soult in his impregnable position could defy the allied army; and lord Wellington, too circumspect to attempt to force it, placed his troops in cantonments, and awaited the result of those great

movements on the other side of France, to which the attention of all Europe was now drawn.

But the sound of British arms calls us far away over the Atlantic waves to the contemplation of scenes which never should have occurred. The enemy having again menaced the Detroit frontier with invasion, colonel Procter, who commanded in that quarter, boldly marched to meet their advanced division in the depth of a Canadian winter: with a handful of British regulars and militia, and 500 Indians, he surprised the enemy's quarters on the river Raisin, and killed or captured the whole corps of 1100 men, with general Winchester, their commander. To the next irruption into this province, general Dearborn brought a force amounting to 2000 men; and Chauncey commanded a flotilla on Lake Ontario: the enemy's immediate object was the conquest of York, where major-general Sheaffe's force was inadequate to the purposes of defence. The American vessels approached so near as to make an impression on the batteries; and, while the troops were engaged, the explosion of a magazine, which destroyed or injured many men on each side, seemed to have a greater effect on the feelings of the British than of the American commander. The place was soon after evacuated by the regulars; and the militia became prisoners of war: nor was this loss compensated by the success of a British party, which, crossing the St. Lawrence from Lower Canada, enforced the surrender of Ogdensburg. Colonel Procter, after some months of constrained inaction, now undertook an expedition to the Miami; but as the Americans suspected his intention, they had so effectually fortified their strong post near that river, that no batteries which he could erect had the power of dislodging them: he was, however, consoled for the want of complete success by an opportunity of gallant exertion. A sudden attack from about 1300 men, who made an advance through the roads to relieve the garrison, being aided by a sortie, threw his troops into some disorder, and gained a momentary possession of his batteries; but his efforts and exhortations, added to the example of his officers, rallied the wavering troops, and repelled the enemy, who fled in confusion, with the loss of above 1000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The British were assisted in this expedition by a body of 1200 Indians, who, after the victory, hastened into the woods with their spoils; and, as no solicitation could now restrain them from returning to their settlements, the colonel

was compelled, by their desertion, to abandon farther operations : removing, therefore, his artillery from the batteries, under a brisk fire, he retired to his quarters on the Canadian frontier.

In another quarter, colonel Baynes and commodore Yeo were employed by Sir George Prevost in a vain attempt to reduce a strong post at Sacket's harbor, hoping to surprise the republicans ; who, on the contrary, were well prepared to resist an attack. It was necessary to force a narrow causeway, covered in many places with water ; and when this point had been gained, the enemy retreated to the fort, after destroying the neighboring storehouses and a frigate on the stocks : some enclosed barracks were set on fire by the advancing troops ; but their commander, unaccountably, ordered a retreat at the moment when the enemy were themselves evacuating the place in a panic. A more spirited contest, for the possession of a fort on the Niagara, occurred between the troops of colonel Vincent and an American force, which landed near Fort George, and advanced to an attack, which was obstinately resisted, as long as the great inferiority of the British would allow. Seeing no chance of retaining the post, the colonel ordered all its materials of strength to be destroyed ; and retreated in good order : but at the heights of Burlington, he was threatened with an attack from above 2000 men, whose intention he resolved to anticipate. Advancing with a force scarcely exceeding 700 regular troops, he reached the enemy's camp, at Stony Creek, in the night, and commenced an assault, which terminated before daybreak in complete success. One of his detachments subsequently enforced the surrender of 500 men, who, being assailed and thrown into disorder by a body of Indians, capitulated when they observed the approach of his troops.

A desire of recovering Fort George induced general Prevost to attack its outposts, in the hope of drawing the Americans into the field ; but though their force, by his account, doubled the amount of his small army, they did not venture to accept his challenge. Commodore Yeo was equally forward in offering battle on Lake Ontario ; but the enemy sacrificed two vessels to avoid a conflict : at another time, the opposing squadrons fought, with little advantage on either side ; and in the sequel, six of our transports, filled with troops, were captured by the Americans. On Lake Erie, a contest took place, in which each side asserted its inferiority of force ; but, as the Americans were decidedly victorious, it is but fair to give their account of the engagement.

On the tenth of September, the American squadron, under commodore Perry, lying at Put-in-bay, discovered the British, at sunrise, making toward them. Perry's force consisted of two twenty-gun brigs, and several small vessels, carrying, in all, fifty-four guns, and about 600 men: the opposing armament was superior in men and metal, being six vessels, carrying sixty-three guns. At eleven o'clock, A.M., the British formed in line of battle; but the wind changing, Perry had an opportunity to bear down on them as he chose: at a few minutes past twelve o'clock, the firing commenced; and some damage was done to the *Lawrence*, in which Perry led the squadron, before he could bring his short guns to bear on his opponents: at length, he opened his battery, and stood the fire of the enemy's force for two hours, though the other part of his fleet did not come to his assistance: the *Lawrence* now became unmanageable; her decks were strewn with the dead; and her guns were dismounted: at this moment, Perry conceived a bold and admirable design; which he no sooner conceived, than it was put in execution: giving the command of the *Lawrence* to lieutenant Yarnell, he jumped, with his flag under his arm, into his boat, and, amidst a shower of balls, made his way to the *Niagara*, the second ship of his squadron; where his flag was now seen flying from the mast-head of what comparatively was a fresh ship: it was a moment full of peril; but the youthful hero was as calm as adventurous. Having quickly brought his vessel into a position to break the opposing line, he gave two ships a raking fire from his starboard guns; poured a broadside into a schooner from his larboard tier; and laid his ship alongside the British commodore, whose battery he silenced in a short time by his unremitting fire. The smaller American vessels then came up, and decided the contest, which had now lasted nearly three hours; all the British ships being taken, and carried to the American side of the lake. Never did a warrior, it is said, fight with a braver or more skilful foe: the commander of the British squadron was a man of no ordinary fame: he had gained laurels at the battle of Trafalgar, and other sea-fights, where Englishmen had bled, and won the victory; but this day, his valor and experience did not avail him; for he was forced to yield. The loss was great on both sides; and captain Barclay lost his remaining hand in the fight; the other had been shot off in some previous battle.

Perry's conduct in this engagement was marked with great skill, bravery, and perseverance; nor was he less humane than

brave ; taking especial care of the British wounded, as well as those of his own gallant crews ; and doing all that could be done to assuage the wounds and personal feelings of commodore Barclay, while he was a prisoner in his power. For this action, which had a great effect on the minds of his countrymen, he was made captain in the navy, and received the thanks of congress, with several other marks of distinction.

The foregoing disaster, added to the increasing strength of the enemy on the Detroit frontier, and the want of proper support, brought colonel Procter to the brink of ruin : he had but 450 regular troops, beside a horde of Indians, under his command ; and a retreat therefore became an act of prudence, or rather of necessity. Being attacked, during this retrograde movement, by an immensely superior force, his small corps was defeated with the loss of half its numbers, before he could effect a junction with general Vincent at the head of Lake Ontario. In the progress of the war, Lower Canada was also menaced with a formidable invasion ; and two general officers, with about 7000 troops each, concerted their future movements against it. On both sides of the Chateauguay, cavalry and light troops were observed by the Canadians, advancing with alacrity ; while the heavy battalions followed, apparently with a resolute courage : but they displayed little of this quality in the conflicts which arose with small bodies of provincials ; and were quickly put to flight. The other army, though it betrayed not the same pusillanimity, failed to obtain that success which its commander expected ; and, after the partial defeat of a strong detachment, did not long maintain its ground, but desisted from action, and followed the example of retreat : even the rigors of an inclement winter did not altogether suspend hostile operations. The inhabitants of the Niagara district being plundered, and otherwise harassed, colonel Murray, advancing to Fort George, overawed the enemy into an abandonment of that fortress, without allowing them time to destroy the works : the same officer thence proceeded to Fort Niagara, which he took by assault, and rescued that part of the frontier from intrusion and outrage ; but not before another expedition had been undertaken, by which about 2000 men were dislodged, after an obstinate resistance, from a strong position at Black Rock.

The success of the Americans last year, in single ships of superior force, had roused the indignation and spirit of British officers : captain Broke, of the Shannon, in particular, resolved to convince the boasting republicans, that they were not yet to

claim pre-eminence on the ocean. He had been for some time cruising before the port of Boston, in which the American frigate Chesapeake then lay ; and, that the enemy might not be prevented from coming out by the apprehension of a superior force, he drew up alone, before the harbor, in a posture of defiance. Captain Laurance immediately accepted the challenge, and put to sea ; while crowds of the inhabitants lined the beach, to witness the approaching conflict, in full confidence of the result ; for the Chesapeake, in number and weight of guns, as well as in the number of its crew, had a considerable superiority over the Shannon. After an exchange of broadsides, the American frigate closed so near on her antagonist, that the ships became locked together ; and captain Broke observing, at this critical moment, that his antagonist's men flinched from their guns, gave orders to board ; when he and his gallant associates rushed on the hostile deck, driving all before them with irresistible fury, until they had pulled down the American flag, and hoisted the British union in its place : the firing from below soon afterwards ceased ; and the Chesapeake, after a short conflict of fifteen minutes, was on her course to Halifax, with her conqueror.

END OF VOL. XIX.



PRINTED BY A. J. VALPY,
RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET.

Hume, David, / Smollett, Tobias George, / Hughes, Thomas S.

History of England

Bd.: 19

London 1836

Brit. 303 f-19

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10280335-6